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ABSTRACT

Up until 1954 all Tulsa schools were totally segregated by race. In the fall of 1955, school attendance zones in Tulsa were redrawn, utilizing the neighborhood school concept, but without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin. The new zones placed some black children in previously all white schools, and some white children in previously all black schools. This realigning of attendance zones, however, was negated by the school board's policy of allowing any student to transfer from a school in which his or her race was minority to a school where his or her race was a majority upon the request of the parents. In May of 1965 the Tulsa public schools' plan for desegregation was submitted to the U.S. Commissioner of Education. Since then, although this school district has made progress in bringing about school desegregation, much remains to be done. School enrollment statistics for the 1975-76 school year indicate that many schools are still segregated. By choosing to define an integrated school as one having not more than 90% enrollment of a single race, the Tulsa district has not presented an accurate picture on the status of school desegregation. White flight from this district to surrounding suburban districts is a major problem. The affirmative program, instituted by the school district has not been carried through. Furthermore, the burden of busing has fallen on the black community. On the positive side, the magnet school plan has been extremely successful. (Author/AM)

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SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN TULSA, OKLAHOMA

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August 1977

OCT 5 1977

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN TULSA, OKLAHOMA

--A report prepared by the Oklahoma Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights

ATTRIBUTION:

The findings and recommendations contained in this report are those of the Oklahoma Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights and, as such, are not attributed to the Commission.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

OKLAHOMA ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE
U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

August 1977

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Arthur S. Flemming, Chairman
Stephen Horn, Vice Chairman
Frankie M. Freeman
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Murray Saltzman

John A. Buggs, Staff Director

Sirs and Madam:

During the early part of February 1976, the Oklahoma Advisory Committee, as part of the Commission's national school desegregation project, conducted extensive field investigations in Tulsa, Oklahoma, to secure information on that community's efforts to desegregate its public schools. As part of this field investigation, numerous interviews were conducted with school board members, school officials, community leaders, parents, concerned citizens, and students. Additional research was conducted from February to November 1976 by Commission staff to complement the field interviews. This report is an attempt to summarize the information gathered over the past year concerning school desegregation in Tulsa.

Our major purpose in preparing this report is to influence, in a positive way, the future course of school desegregation in Tulsa. As part of this effort, we have carefully examined that community's response to school desegregation. The report also discusses in depth the historical and legal basis for school desegregation in that community. The role of school officials, business, professional, and religious leaders, as well as concerned parents and private citizens of all walks of life in responding to the challenge of desegregation is examined in great detail.

We are offering many recommendations. They are directed primarily to the Tulsa Independent School District, the school board, and the citizens of Tulsa.

It is our hope that the Commission will support our recommendations and use its influence to help further the process of desegregating the public school system in Tulsa.

Respectfully,

/s/

HANNAH ATKINS
Chairperson

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Advisory Committee wishes to thank the staff of the Commission's Southwestern Regional Office in San Antonio, Texas, for its help in the preparation of this report. Research and writing assistance was provided by Barry Myers. Additional assistance was provided by John F. Dulles, II, deputy director, Ernest Gerlach, research writer, and Gloria Cabrera, regional attorney. The project was directed by John F. Dulles, II, and Ernest Gerlach. Additional staff support was provided by Norma Valle, secretary, and Evangeline Urrutia, secretary. All worked under the direction and guidance of J. Richard Avena, Regional Director.

Final production was the responsibility of Audree B. Holton, Deborah A. Harrison, Vivian M. Hauser, Rita R. Higgins, and Vivian Washington, supervised by Bobby Wortman, in the Commission's Publication Support Center, Office of Management.

PREFACE

The United States Commission on Civil Rights released on August 24, 1976, its report to the Nation: Fulfilling the Letter and Spirit of the Law: Desegregation of the Nation's Public Schools.

The report's findings and recommendations were based upon information gathered during a 10-month school desegregation project. This included four formal hearings (Boston, Massachusetts; Denver, Colorado; Louisville, Kentucky; and Tampa, Florida); four open meetings held by State Advisory Committees (Berkeley, California; Corpus Christi, Texas; Minneapolis, Minnesota; and Stamford, Connecticut); a survey of nearly 1,300 local school districts; and 29 case studies of communities which had difficulties with desegregation, had moderate success with desegregation, or had substantial success with desegregation.

Subsequent to the report's release, considerable interest was generated concerning the specifics of the case study findings, which, owing to space limitations in the national report, were limited to a few brief paragraphs. In an effort to comply with public requests for more detailed information, Commission staff have prepared monographs for each of the case studies. These monographs were written from the extensive field notes already collected and supplemented, if needed, with further interviews in each community. They reflect, in detail, the original case study purpose of finding which local policies, practices, and programs in each community surveyed contributed to peaceful desegregation and which ones did not.

It is hoped that the following monograph will serve to further an understanding of the school desegregation process in this Nation.

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I. INTRODUCTION

In February 1976 a subcommittee of the Oklahoma Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and staff from the Southwestern Regional Office of the Commission conducted a special study on school desegregation in Tulsa. Interviews were conducted with school officials, community leaders, private citizens, and concerned parents. The purpose of these interviews was to gain a perspective on how the desegregation process in Tulsa was and is being implemented.

The subcommittee looked into the historical basis for desegregation in this community. It examined the role of community leadership, the response of the community to school desegregation, the role of the school administration in carrying out desegregation, and the plan itself. The report also discusses the overall attitudes and perceptions of the community toward school desegregation, busing, and the neighborhood school concept.

The role of business, professional, and religious leaders in bringing about school desegregation in Tulsa is discussed. Key factors that set this community apart from other cities where desegregation has often met active and sometimes violent resistance are analyzed.

The Advisory Committee is aware of what has happened in Tulsa over the years. The Committee is also cognizant of the extremely important role played by a relatively small number of private citizens in carrying out desegregation in this community. Their role underscores the importance of involving the total community in this very complex process. In the end, whatever direction is taken in Tulsa, it will be the school administration and not the citizens of this city or the courts that will determine the course of school desegregation. The question is: Can Tulsa meet the continuing challenge in the future? The Advisory Committee believes it can.

II. RACE RELATIONS IN TULSA: FIFTY YEARS OF CONFLICT

Modern Tulsa traces its origin to an Indian village called Tulsee (or Tulsey) Town, which was founded after a treaty signed by a Creek Indian delegation in 1832 ceded all tribal land east of the Mississippi River to the United States and made provisions for the removal of the tribes to Indian territory. Archee Yahola, town chief of the Tulsa Lochapokas and a full-blooded Creek Indian, migrated 4 years after the signing to the territory now included in the incorporated city of Tulsa. Tulsee was 1 of 47 towns represented in the "House of Kings" of the Creek National Government.[1]

The first permanent white settler came in 1882. H.C. Hall is often referred to as the founder of the city. In the mid-1880s, Tulsa began to grow and develop into a prosperous community. The first government town site survey was made in 1900. (The population at that time was 1,390.) Tulsa remained a village until the discovery of oil in surrounding districts in 1901. Major discoveries of "black gold" led to an oil boom which created rapid housing and commercial development along with the construction of bridges and water systems.

By 1907, the year Oklahoma became the Nation's 46th State, the city of Tulsa was incorporated with a population that had grown to 11,990. Tulsa was at the time the most significant oil boom town in the Southwest.[2]

Tulsa and the surrounding territory were inhabited by the five civilized tribes, most of whom held black slaves.[3] White men, who had settled and married among the Indians, had introduced black slavery at an early date.[4] Although black slaves were owned by some of the early pioneers and later by Indian tribes, slavery was

never a flourishing practice in Tulsa or in the State of Oklahoma.

Blacks in Tulsa originally settled on First Street at Madison and Lansing, near the site of the old Midland Valley Railroad depot. In 1905 a strip of land on Greenwood Street (beginning at Alder Street) was sold to blacks. It was here that the first black-owned business, a grocery store, was established. In 1908 the site was developed by blacks as the first permanent black business district. Most early black migrants came from Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, and Mississippi.[5]

From 1908 to 1920 the relationship between the black community and the white community, at least on the surface, was cordial. The black ghetto in Tulsa was firmly established, and it prospered along with the rest of Tulsa. Then in 1921 a severe race riot erupted, resulting in a tremendous loss of lives and the almost complete destruction of the ghetto. Although this event occurred more than 50 years ago, it still is an important factor governing race relations in the community.

The precipitating event of the riot was the imprisonment of a black male who was accused of assaulting a white female elevator attendant.[6] Newspaper accounts indicate that approximately 50 whites and from 100 to 150 blacks lost their lives.[7] Property loss by arson was estimated to be between $1-1/2 and $4 million.[8] The entire black business district was destroyed, as were 500 black homes. One long-term result of this riot was the concentration and segregation of blacks into the north corridor of Tulsa. The area which had been a black residential section prior to the riot became the industrial and wholesale center of the city.[9]

Through the 1930s and 1940s the isolation of the black community intensified. The social and economic structure of the black community became increasingly concentrated in an area just north of downtown. An invisible wall had seemingly been erected between blacks and whites that almost completely isolated one race from the other.[10]

After World War II conditions began to change in Tulsa. The wall that separated the races began by degrees to crumble. With the increasing economic and political strength of the black community, the enforced isolation from the rest of the city diminished.

It was not until 1957, 12 years after World War II and almost 10 years after the U.S. Supreme Court had ruled that restrictive covenants were not enforceable in the courts,[11] that blacks in Tulsa began to move into previously all-white residential areas. The major barrier that prevented blacks from buying homes in Tulsa was obtaining bank loans. The first loans obtained by black Tulsa residents came from Oklahoma City banks. Once loans became more available, blacks began to move into areas adjoining the black northern corridor.[12]

In addition to the economic improvement and change in the residential situation, other factors helped to break Tulsa's rigid segregation. One was the change in the power structure of the city.

The leadership void left by the retirement or death of the millionaires and tycoons who once controlled the city was filled by a younger generation more realistic in its appraisal of the potential and problems of the city.[13] One observer noted:

> Most significant to us in this development, of course, was the fact that the new leadership group in Tulsa was prepared to work with people in problem situations on the basis of equality and reciprocity.[14]

The new leaders in Tulsa seemed convinced that the black population should not continue to be subjected to inferior living, working, and educational conditions. A change in the attitude leadership took place for the sake of the total community and the health of the economy.[15]

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. J.M. Hall, The Beginnings of Tulsa (unpublished manuscript, January 1953).

2. Ibid.

3. Muriel H. Wright, The Story of Oklahoma (Oklahoma City: Webb Company, 1930), p. 316.

4. Ibid.

5. J. Harvey Kearns, A Study of the Social and Economic Condition of the Negro Population of Tulsa, Oklahoma (Tulsa: Council of Social Agencies).

6. "The Arrest of a Young Negro on Statutory Charge Caused Battle Between Races" The Tulsa World, June 1, 1921, p. 1.

7. Walter White, "The Eruption of Tulsa," The Nation, June 29, 1921, pp. 909-10.

8. Loren L. Gill, "The Tulsa Race Riot" (M.A. thesis, University of Tulsa, 1946), p. 1.

9. Tulsa Tribune, June 7, 1921, p. 1.

10. Mary Jones Parrish, The Events of the Tulsa Disaster (unpublished booklet, n.d.), p. 32.

11. Shelley v. Kraemer, 334 U.S. 1, 68 S. Ct. 836 (1948).

12. Donald F. Sullivan, "Neighbors Unlimited," Interracial Review, vol. 34, March 1961, p. 66.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

III. DEMOGRAPHY OF TULSA AND THE TULSA INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT

The city of Tulsa is located in the central portion of Tulsa County, which lies in the northeastern part of the State. Tulsa is the central city of the Tulsa Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA). Up to 1973 the Tulsa SMSA included Tulsa, Creek, and Osage Counties and had a population of 475,264.[1] In 1973 the Tulsa SMSA was changed to encompass six counties (Creek, Osage, Mayes, Rogers, Tulsa, and Wagoner). Figure 1 illustrates the size and location of the Tulsa SMSA. In April 1970 there were 330,350 persons living in the city of Tulsa, representing 69.6 percent of the total SMSA population.[2]

Few population data for the Tulsa SMSA are available before 1907 (when Oklahoma became a State). Most of the cities and towns became incorporated that year or shortly thereafter.[3] The Tulsa SMSA grew very rapidly from statehood until 1930, when Oklahoma was severely affected by the Depression. In the 1930s the State lost population. Since 1940 the population has increased slowly, and in the mid-1960s it regained its 1930 population level. (Table 1 describes the population for the city of Tulsa, Tulsa County, and the Tulsa metropolitan area from 1930 to 1970, and provides population projections for 1980 and 1990).

The city of Tulsa is most densely populated in the northern section. There has been a significant population decrease in the central city with a corresponding increase in population in the southeastern section since 1960 (see figure 2). As noted previously, the black population is concentrated mainly in the northern part of the city (see figure 3). At the present time, this section of Tulsa is experiencing a decline in property values, an increase in housing abandonment, and loss of business.[4]

Blacks comprise about 76 percent of the population in the northern corridor of Tulsa. This is the result of residential and economic segregation that arose after the 1921 race riot. Increasingly, the central and northern sections of the city are being forsaken to the poor, the elderly, and minority groups. Conversely, the southeastern part of Tulsa has prospered and is experiencing a tremendous growth in housing. This can be attributed to the large shift in the white population from the central city to the suburbs.[5]

In 1970 Tulsa had a black population of 35,277 (10.7 percent of the population). There were slightly more than 8,500 (2.6 percent) American Indians living in the city. The number of American Indians is substantially larger when the Tulsa SMSA is considered, 15,519, which is 3.3 percent of the SMSA population.[6] (For a comparison of 1960 and 1970 racial data of the city of Tulsa, Tulsa County, and the Tulsa SMSA, see table 2.)

During the 1960s about 85 percent of the estimated 31,000 new housing units built in Tulsa was located in the southeast section. Approximately 14 percent (4,500 units) were built in the central and northern sections of Tulsa. The western part of Tulsa received only about 350 units, just 1 percent of the total. Housing investment patterns create shifts and gains in household locations. From 1960 to 1970 southeast Tulsa households increased by 23,650. This was equivalent to 121 percent of Tulsa's net gain in homes during the 1960s.[7]

Table 3 describes the overall population shifts occurring within the Tulsa metropolitan area from 1960 to 1973. This table shows the magnitude of the white population shift toward the southeast. It will be shown later that this population shift has also had a tremendous effect on the size and composition of the student population in the Tulsa Independent School District.

Closely related to this shift in population to the southeast have been the changing socioeconomic and employment characteristics of the people who reside in the community.

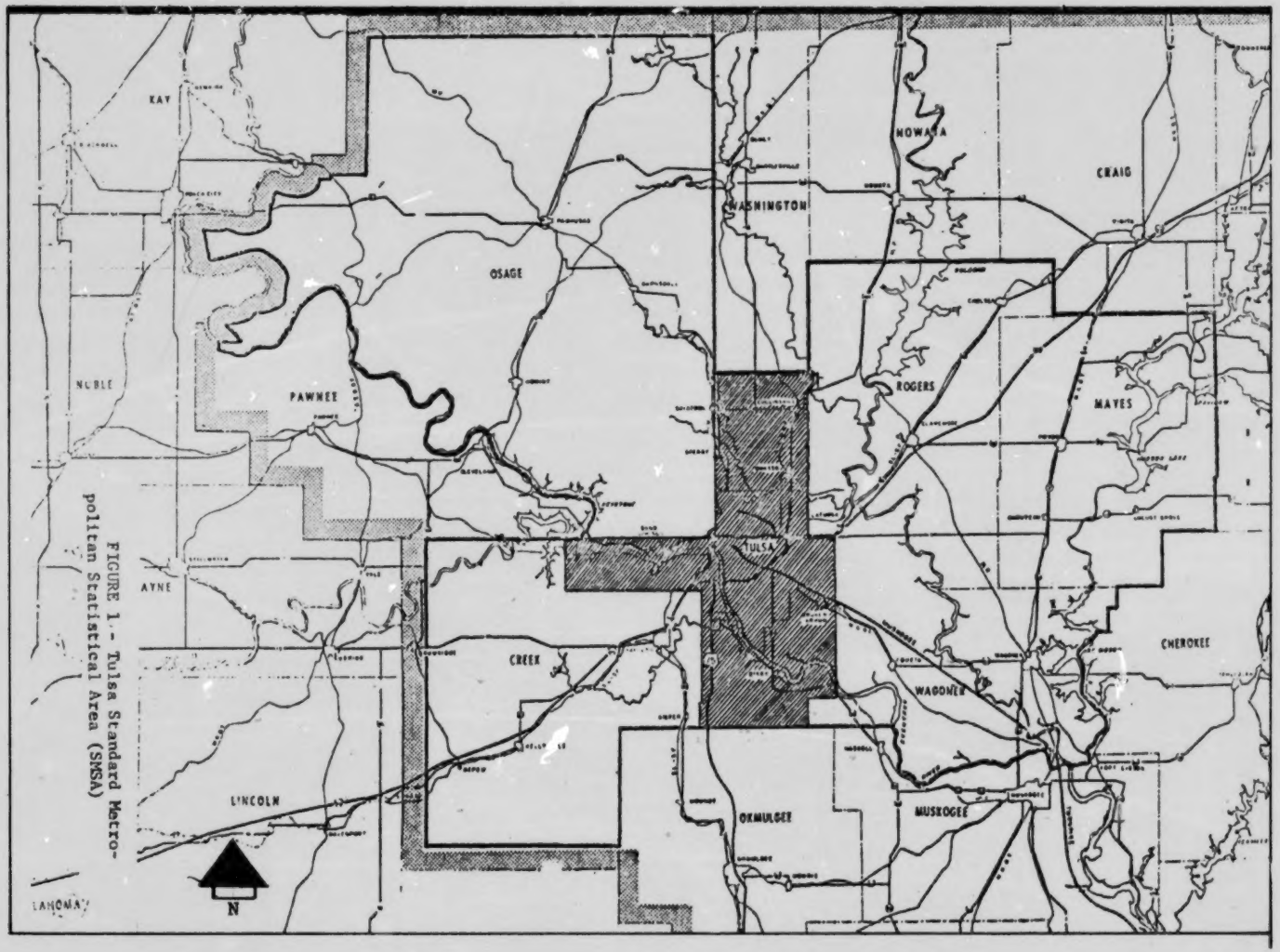


FIGURE 1 - Tulsa Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA)

TABLE 1

Population by Census Year, 1930-1970,
Estimates for 1974, and Projections for 1980-1990

Tulsa SMSA

	Old Definition[1]		New Definition[2]	
	Population	Percent Change Over Previous Period	Population	Percent Change Over Previous Period
1930	299,023	43.7%	358,290	35.8%
1940	290,368	-2.9	354,756	-1.0
1950	327,900	12.9	383,196	8.0
1960	418,974	27.8	475,334	24.0
1970	475,264	13.4	549,154	15.5
1974	492,200	3.6	576,100	4.9
1980	539,300	9.6	639,600	11.0
1990	613,400	13.7	738,500	15.5

	Tulsa County		City of Tulsa	
	Population	Percent Change Over Previous Period	Population	Percent Change Over Previous Period
1930	187,574	72.0%	141,258	96.0%
1940	193,363	3.1	142,157	0.6
1950	251,686	30.2	182,740	28.5
1960	346,038	37.5	261,685	43.2
1970	399,982	15.6	330,350	26.2
1974	415,600	3.9	347,600	5.2
1980	459,900	10.7	388,600	11.8
1990	526,100	14.4	437,500	12.6

Source: For Census Years 1920-1970, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, General Population Characteristics; estimates and projections are from the Oklahoma Employment Security Commission.

1 Includes Tulsa, Creek and Osage Counties.
2 Includes Tulsa Creek, Osage, Mayes, Rogers and Wagoner Counties

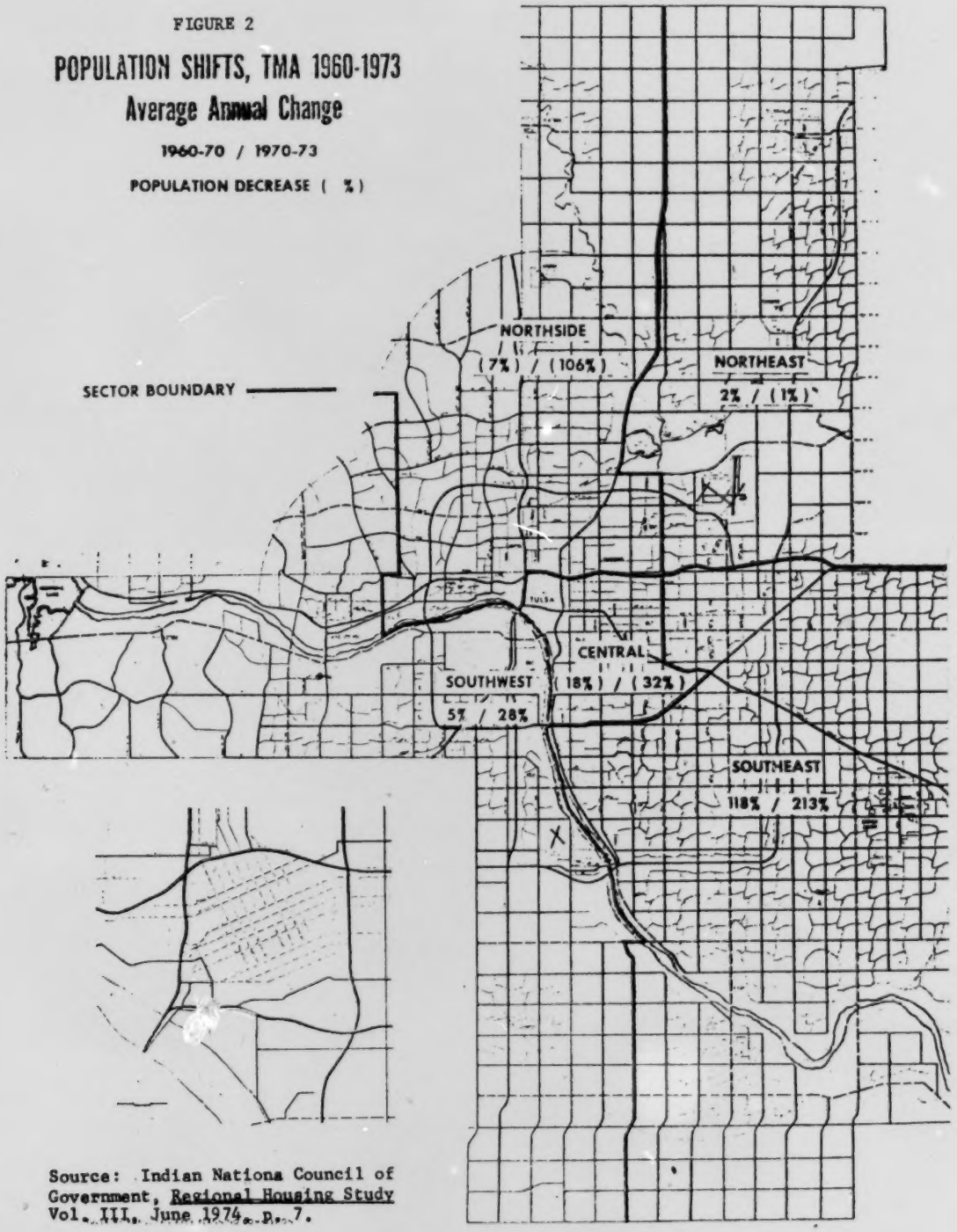
FIGURE 2

POPULATION SHIFTS, TMA 1960-1973

Average Annual Change

1960-70 / 1970-73

POPULATION DECREASE (%)



Source: Indian Nationa Council of Government, Regional Housing Study Vol. III, June 1974, p. 7.

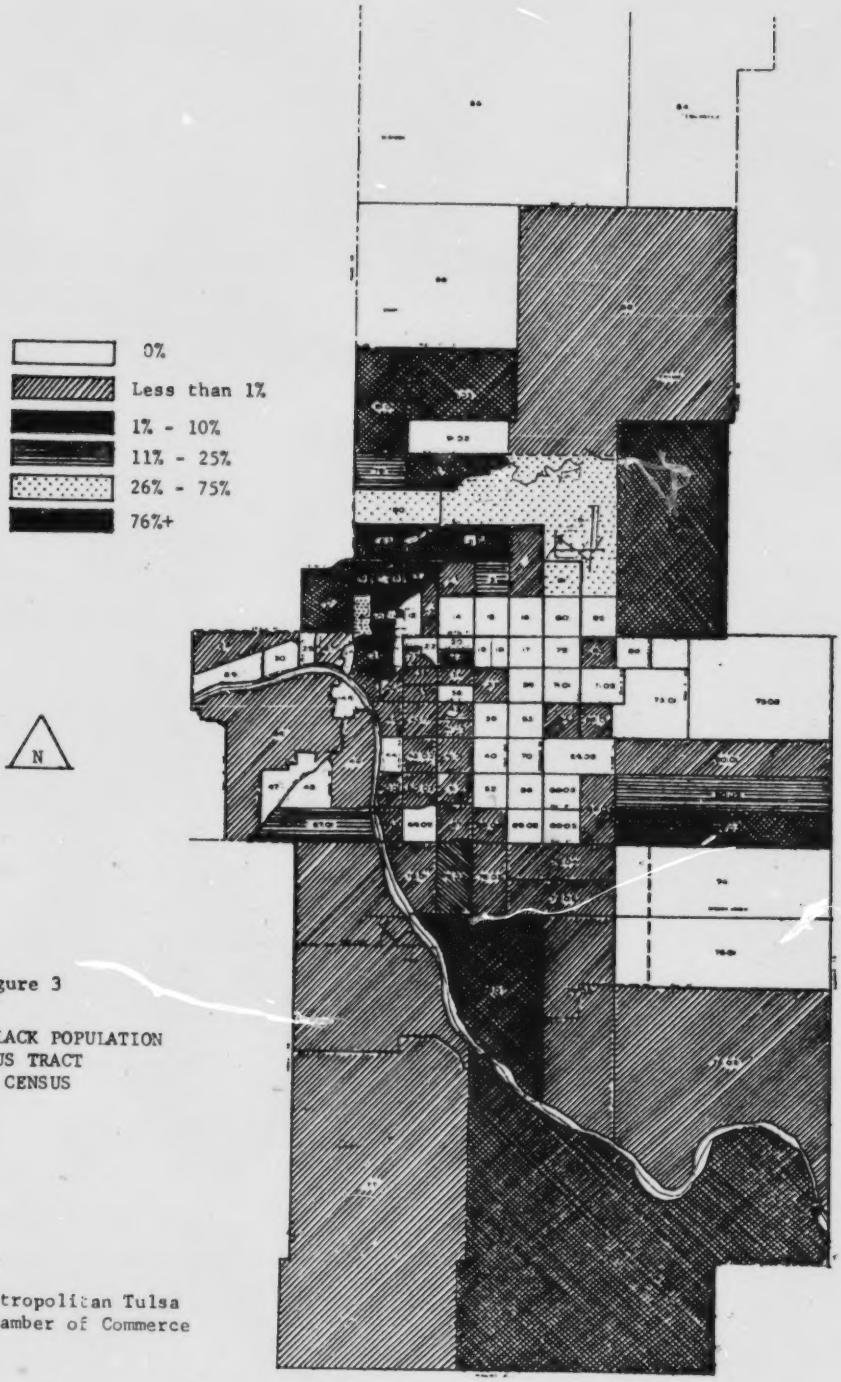


Figure 3

PERCENT OF BLACK POPULATION
BY CENSUS TRACT
1970 CENSUS

Source: Metropolitan Tulsa
Chamber of Commerce

TABLE 2

Racial Composition of the Population,
1960 and 1970

	White	Black	American Indian	All Others
Tulsa SMSA[1]				
1970				
Total	421,047	39,328	15,519	1,051
Percent of Total	88.6%	8.3%	3.3%	0.2%
1960				
Total	380,474	30,551	7,608	341
Percent of Total	90.8%	7.3%	1.8%	0.08%
Tulsa County				
1970				
Total	353,628	36,044	11,041	950
Percent of Total	88.4%	9.0%	2.8%	0.2%
1960				
Total	314,170	26,819	4,748	301
Percent of Total	90.8%	7.7%	1.4%	0.09%
City of Tulsa				
1970				
Total	287,046	35,277	8,510	805
Percent of Total	86.9%	10.7%	2.6%	0.2%
1960				
Total	235,620	22,489	3,325	251
Percent of Total	90.0%	8.6%	1.3%	0.09%

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Census of Population: General Population Characteristics 1960 and 1970.

1 Includes Tulsa, Creek and Osage Counties only.

TABLE 3

Population Shifts, TMA 1960-73

	10 years 1960-1970	3 Years 1970-1973	Average Annual Change 1960-70	1970-73
Southeast	+ 65,200	+ 29,500	(6,500)	(10,000)
Other				
Central	- 10,000	- 4,500	(-1,000)	(-1,500)
Northeast	+ 1,400	- 300	(100)	(- 50)
Northside	- 4,100	- 14,500	(- 400)	(-5,000)
Southwest	+ 2,900	+ 4,000	(300)	(1,350)
Total	- 9,800	- 15,400	(-1,000)	(-5,300)
Total Metropolitan Area	+ 55,400	+ 14,100	(5,500)	(4,700)
Southeast as a Percentage of Total TMA			118%	213%

Source: Hammer, Siler, George Associates, based on 1960 and 1970 Census and detailed 1970-73 school enrollment, annual postal vacancy surveys and TMAPC and Homebuilder building permit reports

TABLE 4

Employment by Broad Industrial Group in the Tulsa SMSA, Annually, 1966-1975
(In Thousands)

	Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	Contract Construction	Government	Manufacturing	Services	Wholesale and Retail Trade	Other
1966	7.8	9.0	15.6	38.8	23.6	37.0	56.2
1967	8.2	8.3	17.0	40.5	25.0	38.5	56.4
1968	8.5	8.3	17.7	42.0	27.3	39.3	57.2
1969	9.1	8.8	18.0	43.4	29.2	40.0	57.0
1970[1]	9.8	9.5	21.3	44.0	32.3	42.5	60.7
1971	10.1	9.6	21.7	41.0	34.5	44.0	61.9
1972	10.7	11.4	22.0	43.0	36.0	46.0	61.6
1973[2]	11.6	13.8	22.1	47.8	37.2	49.1	62.3
1974	12.1	14.7	22.6	51.0	38.7	51.4	61.4
1975	12.9	13.1	23.6	50.7	38.9	52.5	64.8

Source: Oklahoma Employment Security Commission.

1 Not strictly comparable to prior years because SMSA was expanded from 3 to 6 counties.

2 These estimates have been adjusted to a first quarter 1974 benchmark.

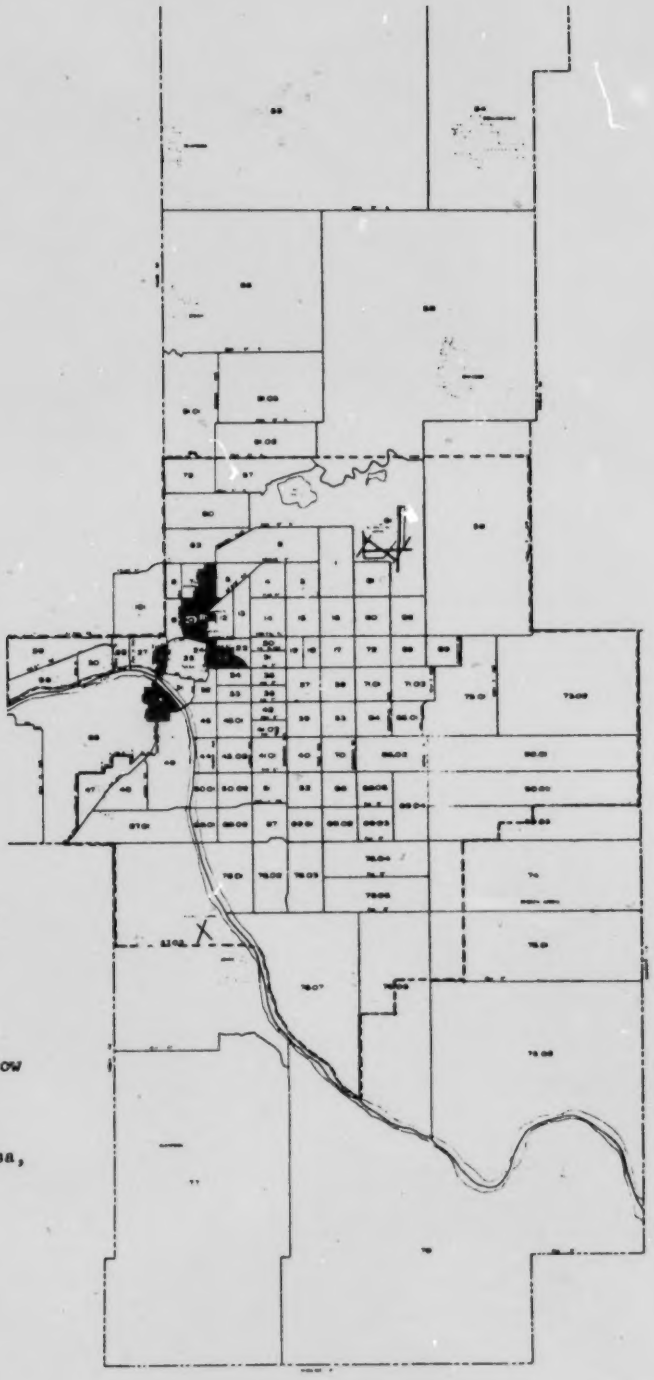


FIGURE 4

Low Income Areas - City of Tulsa - 1975

$4,933 & Below

SOURCE: City Planning Department, Tulsa, Oklahoma

14

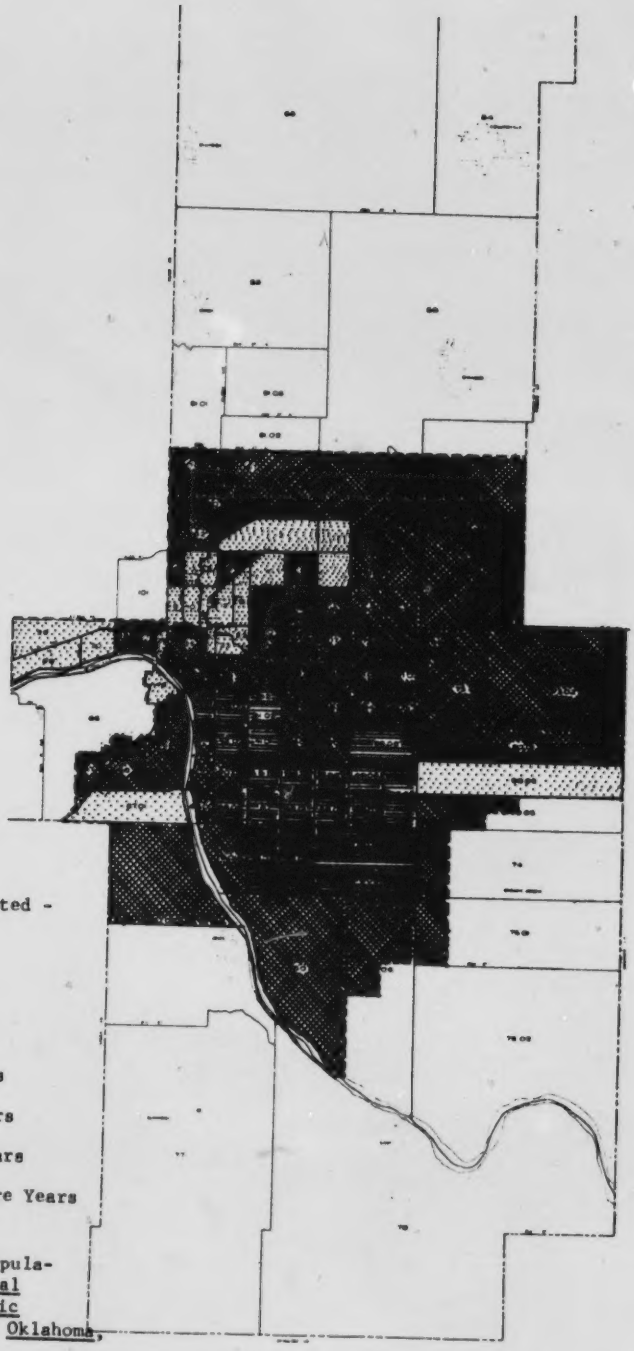


FIGURE 5

Median School Years Completed - City of Tulsa

SOURCE: U.S. Census of Population: 1970 General Social and Economic Characteristics: Oklahoma, PC 91-C38

Tulsa, once known as the oil captial of the world, is now a diversified city, economically and culturally. In 1970 more residents were employed in manufacturing and wholesale and retail trade than in any other job category. In 1975 the largest industrial employers were wholesale and retail trade. Manufacturing and services were the second and third largest industrial employers, respectively. Table 4 shows the number of jobs provided by each major industrial group and the changes that have occurred over the past 10 years.

Because of its diverse economic structure, unemployment in the Tulsa SMSA has generally been lower than in the State and the Nation as a whole. In 1975 the unemployment rate for the Tulsa metropolitan area was 6.4 percent, but 7.2 and 8.5 percent for the State and the Nation, respectively.[8]

An important indicator of the socioeconomic well-being of the population in a particular geographical area is the median family income. In 1970 the median family income in Tulsa was $9,866; the comparable figure for the SMSA was $9,281.[9] As figure 4 illustrates, the lower incomes are concentrated in the northern, predominantly black area of Tulsa. Overall, the median income for black families in Tulsa was $5,066.[10] The median income for American Indians in the Tusla SMSA was $8,058.[11]

In 1969 the city of Tulsa had 39,580 persons below the low-income level. Of these, 14,055 (35.5 percent) were black. Persons below the poverty level represented about 12 percent of all persons in the city. More than 75 percent of these persons were members of families, while the remainder were unrelated individuals.[12] More than 15 percent of all American Indian families in the Tulsa SMSA had incomes below the poverty level in 1970.[13]

Another important indicator of the well being of the population in a particular geographical area is the median number of school years completed for persons 25 years old and over. Census data from 1970 for the Tulsa SMSA show the median number of school years completed by males as 12.5 and for females as 12.3.[14] By way of comparison, the median numbers of school years completed by black males and females over 25

years of age are 10.7 and 10.9, respectively. The percent of black males and females over 25 years of age who had completed high school in 1970 was 40.9 and 39.9 percent, respectively.[15] The median number of school years completed for American Indians, 25 years old and over, in 1970 was 12.0. A little more than half of the American Indians residing in Tulsa had completed high school.[16] Figure 5 shows the number of median school years completed by census tracts in the city of Tulsa. Category 8-10 falls within the predominantly black census tracts located in the northern sector of the city.

Population shifts in the city of Tulsa have had a tremendous effect on school enrollment. (The boundary lines for the Tulsa Independent School District (ISD) are shown in appendix A.) In 1968 the district had a peak student enrollment of 80,116. By 1974 the district had lost 14,136 students,[17] but 13 of 15 suburban school districts surrounding the Tulsa ISD had student enrollment gains totaling 11,783[18] (see table 5). The locations of the various school districts which surround the Tulsa ISD are shown in figure 6. Figure 7 illustrates the loss of student enrollment in the Tulsa ISD and the subsequent gains made by other Tulsa metropolitan area school districts from 1968 to 1973.

According to information provided by the district,[19] there has been a substantial decline in the number of white students enrolled in the district over the past 5 years (see table 6). The number of white students dropped from 66,413 in 1968 to 49,071 in 1975. Black enrollment, on the other hand, increased from 9,728 in 1968 to 11,407 in 1975.

According to interviews with school officials, the student enrollment gains made in surrounding suburban school districts have been nearly all white.[20] What has caused this population movement? This question has been answered in part by the Indian Nations Council of Governments (INCOG) in their regional housing study:

> White enrollment declines appear to have picked up momentum and are correlated closely with the accelerating momentum of housing construction outside the Tulsa school

district boundary. These concurrent shifts point out the tight linkage between school stability and housing (market) stability. The exodus from the Tulsa public schools came with: (1) unprecedented residental growth immediately outside the district which provided a sanctuary for fleeing whites; and (2) other disturbing weaknesses in the housing market within the district, including a falloff in housing gains, a steeper falloff in household gains, and a mounting vacancy and FHA-VA foreclosure level.

White enrollment drops prior to 1970 appeared largely a function of quiet (relatively) racial transition in the far Northside as black households absorbed an average of 350 formerly white occupied homes a year in North Tulsa in the course of the 1960's. Other factors included some maturing of population in neighborhoods as can be expected in most neighborhoods, perhaps ten or so years after their initial occupancy. In many cases households passed beyond the peak childbearing age and as this was happening, life spans were also increasing. These and other related factors combined to reduce school membership in some older established neighborhoods.[21]

The report further noted:

As pressures to begin school desegregation accentuated in 1970, however, white enrollment drops accelerated from 850 in 1960 to 2,200 in 1970 as fears of mass busing and others filled the air. The initial pairing of elementaries and closing of Carver and dispersal of Carver blacks to other junior highs contributed to a 2,850 loss in whites in 1971, and then with the final pairing of elementaries in 1972 and the integration of Washington High School in 1973, white losses jumped to an average of just below the 4,000 level in both years.[22]

While it is true that white enrollment dropped appreciably during the early 1970s, there is some indication that the severity of that drop has leveled off, possibly as the result of successful voluntary desegregation programs being in effect for several years. Table 7 summarizes the trend in student enrollment for the district from 1969 through 1975. There has clearly been an overall decline in enrollment over the past 6 school years.

As of October 1975, the district operated 76 elementary schools, 21 junior high schools, and 10 high schools.[23] (See appendix A for the boundaries of these schools.)

Table 8 describes the racial and ethnic distribution of the student population for the 1975-76 school year for each of the 76 elementary schools operated by the district. Out of the 76 elementary schools, 35 had a minority enrollment of less than 10 percent. There were 19 elementary schools with minority enrollments of less than 5 percent. Fifty out of the 76 schools, or approximately two-thirds of all the elementary schools in the district, had a minority enrollment of less than 25 percent. On the other hand, there were eight elementary schools which had a minority enrollment of more than 85 percent.

At the secondary level, the overall distribution of minority students appears to be better. Table 9 shows the racial and ethnic distribution of the student population for both the junior and senior high schools during 1975-76. Out of the 21 junior high schools, 6 had a minority enrollment of less than 10 percent. Twelve had a minority enrollment of less than 25 percent. Eight had a minority enrollment between 25 and 75 percent. The one major exception was Gilcrease Junior High School, which had a minority enrollment of more than 80 percent.

At the senior high level, 3 out of the 10 high schools in the district had a minority enrollment of less than 10 percent. As table 9 points out, most of the high schools had a minority enrollment of less than 25 percent. Only three had a minority enrollment exceeding 25 percent: Central (34.6), McLain (69.9), and Washington (50.7).

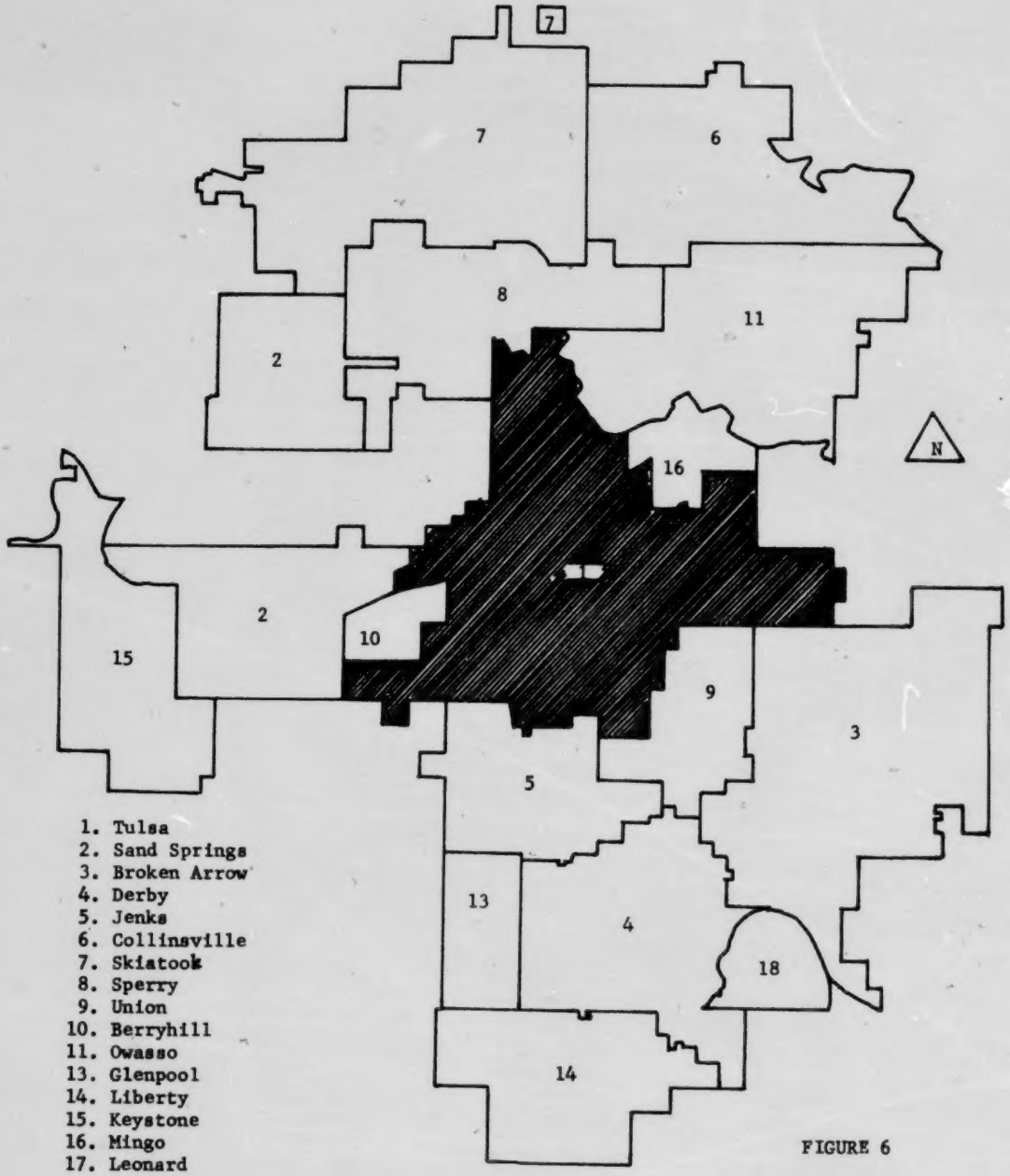
Table 5

MEMBERSHIP REPORT
TULSA COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS
(K-12)

District	1968	1974	Gain or Loss	% Change
Sand Springs	4,447	5,177	+ 730	16.4%
Broken Arrow	3,633	6,141	+2,508	69.0%
Owasso	1,889	2,877	+ 988	52.3%
Jenks	1,528	3,622	+2,094	137.0%
Bixby	1,378	2,321	+ 943	68.4%
Collinsville	1,321	1,949	+ 628	47.5%
Union	738	3,312	+2,574	348.8%
Skiatook	990	1,428	+ 438	44.2%
Sperry	636	995	+ 359	56.4%
Berryhill	798	797	- 1	- 0.1%
Liberty	250	561	+ 311	124.4%
Glenpool	270	334	+ 64	23.7%
Keystone	147	269	+ 122	83.0%
Mingo	162	157	- 5	- 3.1%
Leonard	75	105	+ 30	40.0%
Total	18,262	30,045	+11,783	+64.5%
Tulsa Public Schools	80,116	65,980	-14,136	-17.6%

Paul I. McCloud
Assistant to Superintendent for
Research, Planning & Development

March 26, 1975



1. Tulsa
2. Sand Springs
3. Broken Arrow
4. Derby
5. Jenks
6. Collinsville
7. Skiatook
8. Sperry
9. Union
10. Berryhill
11. Owasso
13. Glenpool
14. Liberty
15. Keystone
16. Mingo
17. Leonard

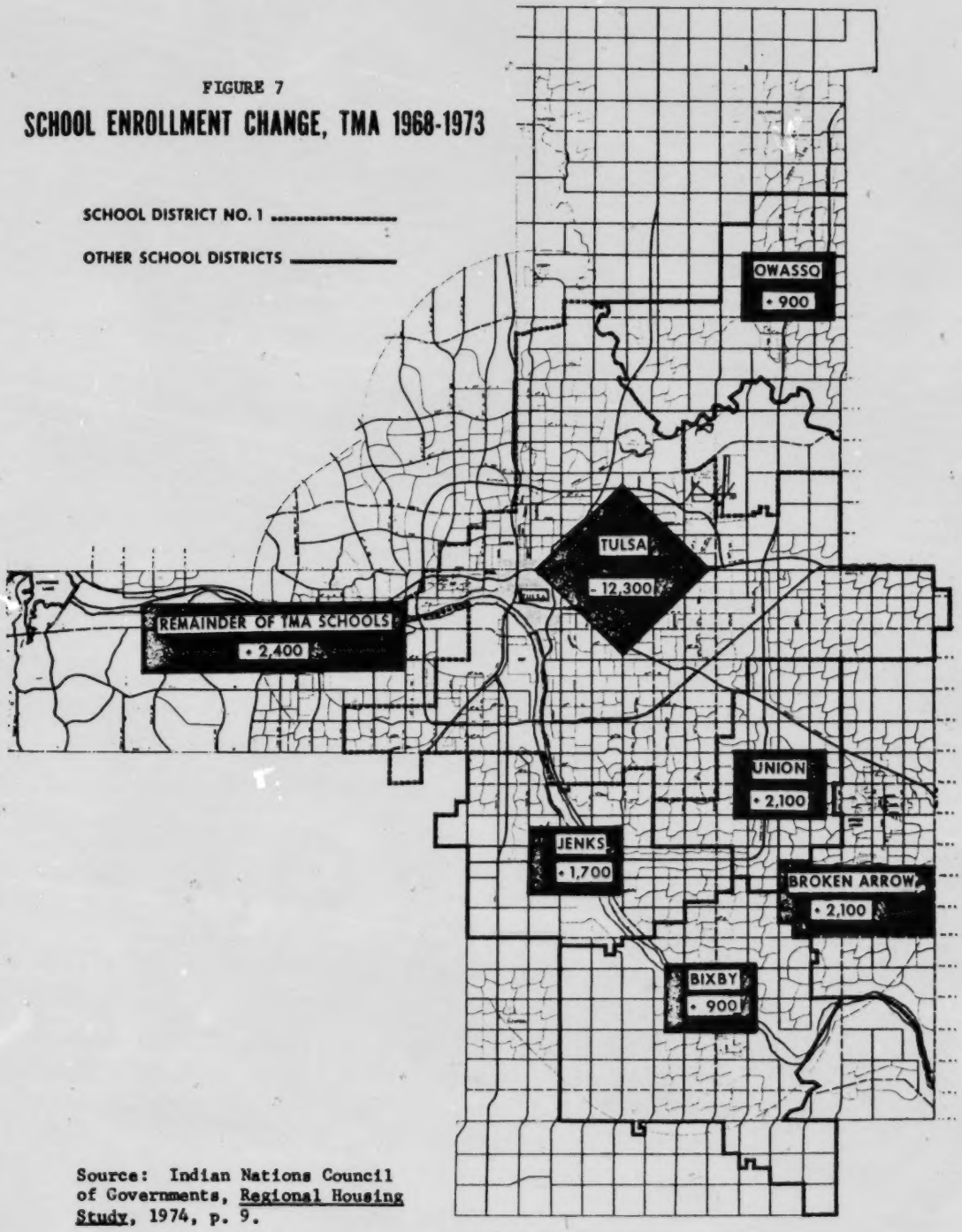
FIGURE 6

Tulsa County School Districts

SOURCE: Tom Summers, County Superintendent of Schools

FIGURE 7

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT CHANGE, TMA 1968-1973



Source: Indian Nations Council of Governments, Regional Housing Study, 1974, p. 9.

TABLE 6
Racial/Ethnic Composition of the Student Enrollment in the Tulsa ISD - 1968-1975

	Am. Ind.	%	Black	%	Asian Am.	%	Sp. Sur.	%	All Others	%	Total
Fall '68	3,196	4.0	9,728	12.2	131	.2	522	.7	66,413	82.1	79,990
" '70	2,435	3.1	10,672	13.7	146	.2	492	.6	64,077	82.3	77,822
" '72	2,654	3.7	10,950	15.4	164	.2	563	.8	56,859	79.9	71,190
" '74	3,392	5.2	11,165	16.9	241	.4	629	.9	50,462	76.6	65,889
" '75	2,866	4.5	11,407	17.8	258	.4	605	.9	49,071	76.4	64,207

Source: Superintendent's Office, Tulsa Independent School District, February 1976

TABLE 7
Student Enrollment - Tulsa Independent School District - 1969-1976

	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76
Elementary	44,511 (-930)*	42,951 (-1,560)	40,798 (-2,153)	38,118 (-2,680)	35,951 (-2,167)	34,805 (-1,146)	33,710 (-1,095)
Junior High	18,550 (-105)	18,252 (-298)	17,509 (-743)	16,836 (-673)	16,530 (-306)	16,252 (-278)	15,894 (-358)
Senior High	16,505 (+485)	16,560 (+55)	16,677 (+117)	16,016 (-661)	15,248 (-768)	14,923 (-325)	14,407 (-516)
TOTAL	79,566 (-550)	77,763 (-1,803)	74,984 (-2,779)	70,970 (-4,014)	67,729 (-3,241)	65,980 (-1,749)	64,011 (-1,969)

*Gain (+) or Loss (-) from previous year.

Source: Tulsa ISD #1, Office for Research, Planning and Development, December 1975

TABLE 8

Racial and Ethnic Distribution of the Student Population
Elementary Schools, Tulsa Public Schools - 1975-76

	Amer. Ind.	Black	Asian Amer.	Span. Amer.	Min. Total	Min. %	Black %	All Others	All Others %	Total
Adams	89	0	0	0	89	25.2%	0.0%	264	74.8%	353
Alcott	1	619	1	0	621	89.9%	89.6%	70	10.1%	691
Audubon	3	1	2	4	10	2.7%	0.3%	365	97.3%	375
Barnard	7	1	1	8	17	4.6%	0.3%	354	95.4%	371
Bates	10	0	9	5	24	5.2%	0.0%	437	94.8%	461
Bryant	48	6	1	4	59	11.3%	1.2%	461	88.7%	520
Bunche	3	154	0	2	159	58.7%	56.8%	112	41.3%	271
Burbank	15	1	3	3	22	5.5%	0.3%	377	94.5%	399
Burroughs	2	474	0	0	476	85.6%	85.3%	80	14.4%	556
Carnegie	6	16	0	0	22	3.9%	2.8%	545	96.1%	567
Celia Clinton	5	104	0	0	109	43.1%	41.1%	144	56.9%	253
Cherokee	80	109	0	1	190	32.9%	18.9%	388	67.1%	578
Choutgau	19	6	0	9	34	11.3%	2.0%	266	88.7%	300
Columbus	3	2	2	9	16	3.9%	0.5%	397	96.1%	413
Cooper	20	6	4	8	38	4.2%	0.7%	862	95.8%	900
Disney	21	5	5	14	45	4.0%	0.4%	1,091	96.0%	1,136
Douglass	3	139	0	0	142	64.5%	63.2%	78	35.5%	220
Dunbar	10	113	0	0	123	50.4%	46.3%	121	49.6%	244
Eisenhower	12	2	2	5	21	4.6%	0.4%	435	95.4%	456
Eliot	9	0	1	0	10	2.0%	0.0%	493	98.0%	503
Emerson	5	264	0	1	270	89.4%	87.4%	32	10.6%	302
Eugene Field	35	74	6	24	139	37.0%	19.7%	237	63.0%	376
Franklin	31	0	0	14	45	13.4%	0.0%	290	86.6%	335
Frost	0	252	0	0	252	100.0%	100.0%	0	0.0%	252
Fulton	5	2	1	0	8	1.4%	0.3%	577	98.6%	585
Greeley	14	211	1	4	230	51.3%	47.1%	218	48.7%	448
Grimes	0	7	1	7	15	3.6%	1.7%	403	96.4%	418
Grissom	9	6	10	5	30	3.2%	0.6%	896	96.8%	926
Hawthorne	1	427	0	0	428	96.0%	95.7%	18	4.0%	446
Holmes	18	5	1	6	30	6.6%	1.1%	426	93.4%	456
Hoover	19	7	1	3	30	4.0%	0.9%	713	96.0%	743
Houston	10	667	1	0	678	85.4%	84.0%	116	14.6%	794
Jackson	21	195	0	1	217	38.9%	34.9%	341	61.1%	558
Johnson	29	117	0	7	153	66.8%	51.1%	76	33.2%	229
Jones	2	13	2	4	21	5.5%	3.4%	358	94.5%	379
Kendall	17	8	9	14	48	11.3%	1.9%	376	88.7%	424
Kerr	12	7	2	2	23	6.5%	2.0%	331	93.5%	354
Key	1	0	5	1	7	1.8%	0.0%	379	98.2%	386
Lanier	27	3	3	1	34	8.7%	0.8%	356	91.3%	390
Lee	5	12	4	0	21	6.6%	3.8%	297	93.4%	318
Lincoln	39	16	7	11	73	20.6%	4.5%	282	79.4%	355
Lindbergh	18	3	1	7	29	4.5%	0.5%	613	95.5%	642
Lindsey	6	125	0	0	131	55.0%	52.5%	107	45.0%	238
Lombard	5	76	0	7	88	55.3%	47.8%	71	44.7%	159
Lowell	41	25	1	5	72	24.7%	8.6%	220	75.3%	292
Lynn Lane	12	0	1	2	15	4.9%	0.0%	294	95.1%	309
MacArthur	15	9	3	1	28	6.0%	1.9%	436	94.0%	464
Mark Twain	30	2	1	3	36	8.1%	0.4%	409	91.9%	445
Marshall	17	23	3	25	68	10.9%	3.7%	558	89.1%	626
Mayo	4	10	9	3	26	5.4%	2.1%	452	94.6%	478
McClure	11	23	0	3	37	7.8%	4.9%	436	92.2%	473
McKinley	31	0	2	1	34	6.1%	0.0%	520	93.9%	554
Mitchell	22	5	4	7	38	11.6%	1.0%	443	88.4%	501
Owen	32	0	0	6	38	8.2%	0.0%	427	91.8%	465
Park	42	0	1	3	46	14.9%	0.0%	263	85.1%	309
Patrick Henry	31	44	4	3	82	11.1%	6.0%	655	88.9%	737
Peary	8	3	1	1	13	4.5%	1.0%	279	95.5%	292
Penn	18	460	0	0	478	73.8%	71.0%	170	26.2%	648
Pershing	46	20	2	9	77	23.4%	6.1%	252	76.6%	329
Phillips	13	19	1	9	42	8.3%	3.8%	461	91.7%	503
Porter	60	2	4	1	67	21.2%	0.6%	244	78.5%	311
Post	2	260	0	5	267	85.0%	82.8%	47	15.0%	314
Reed	48	0	0	3	51	9.1%	0.0%	509	90.9%	560
Remington	47	94	0	10	151	33.3%	20.7%	303	66.7%	454
Riley	67	32	1	3	103	23.3%	7.2%	339	76.7%	442
Robertson	46	0	0	4	50	17.8%	0.0%	231	82.2%	281
Ross	53	6	3	12	74	13.4%	1.1%	477	86.6%	551
Salk	2	3	2	0	7	1.0%	0.4%	663	99.0%	670
Sandburg	13	1	5	1	20	7.6%	0.4%	244	92.4%	264
Sequoyah	37	59	1	12	109	34.0%	18.4%	212	66.0%	321
Springdale	42	136	2	0	180	44.4%	33.6%	225	55.6%	405
Stevenson	0	1	4	2	7	2.3%	0.3%	291	97.7%	298
Taft	3	1	0	0	4	2.2%	0.5%	181	97.8%	185
Whitman	0	374	0	0	374	98.2%	98.2%	7	1.8%	381
Whittier	34	85	3	4	126	31.7%	21.4%	271	68.3%	397
Woods	23	223	0	1	247	68.6%	61.9%	113	31.4%	360
ELEM. TOTAL	1565	6,175	144	330	8,214	24.4%	18.3%	25,485	75.6%	33,699

SOURCE: Tulsa Public Schools, Department of Research,
Planning and Development - Oct. 1, 1975.

TABLE 9

Racial and Ethnic Distribution of the Student Population - Secondary Schools, Tulsa Public Schools - 1975-76

	AMERICAN INDIAN	BLACK AMERICAN	ASIAN AMERICAN	SPANISH SURNAMED AMERICAN	MINORITY TOTAL	MINORITY PERCENT	BLACK PERCENT	ALL OTHERS	ALL OTHERS PERCENT	TOTAL MEMBERSHIP
JUNIOR HIGH										
Anderson	9	174	0	6	189	38.8%	35.7%	298	61.2%	487
Bell	54	55	2	9	120	14.8%	6.8%	689	85.2%	809
Byrd	2	2	1	0	5	0.5%	0.2%	919	99.5%	924
Carver	7	228	0	3	238	53.7%	51.5%	205	46.3%	443
Cleveland	88	180	5	15	288	43.0%	26.9%	381	57.0%	669
Clinton	92	73	6	15	186	17.4%	6.8%	884	82.6%	1,070
Edison Jr.	30	130	4	10	174	15.5%	11.6%	946	84.5%	1,120
Foster	84	3	2	15	104	10.5%	0.3%	888	89.5%	992
Gilcrease	18	887	1	5	911	83.2%	81.0%	184	16.8%	1,095
Hamilton	54	180	1	8	243	27.2%	20.2%	650	72.8%	893
Horace Mann	27	47	2	6	82	26.7%	15.3%	225	73.3%	307
Lewis & Clark	42	3	4	6	55	7.2%	0.4%	711	92.8%	766
Madison	28	126	3	5	162	27.3%	21.2%	431	72.7%	593
Monroe	37	400	0	2	439	53.1%	48.4%	387	46.9%	826
Nimitz	24	10	4	3	41	5.6%	1.4%	693	94.4%	734
Roosevelt	18	211	3	2	234	63.1%	56.9%	137	36.9%	371
Skelly	35	4	2	9	50	5.6	0.4%	848	94.4%	898
Thoreau	24	0	7	9	40	6.8%	0.0%	550	93.2%	590
Whitney	44	34	4	13	95	9.5%	3.4%	907	90.5%	1,002
Wilson	37	43	5	11	96	15.7%	7.0%	514	84.3%	610
Wright	17	40	2	6	65	10.5%	6.4%	556	89.5%	621
TOTAL	771	2,830	58	158	3,817	24.1%	17.9%	12,003	75.9%	15,820
SENIOR HIGH										
Central	53	387	9	9	458	34.6%	29.3%	864	65.4%	1,322
East Central	105	57	11	18	191	9.7%	2.9%	1,775	90.3%	1,966
Edison Sr.	32	116	11	7	166	11.3%	7.9%	1,307	88.7%	1,473
Hale	44	114	8	26	192	9.1%	5.4%	1,927	90.9%	2,119
Mason	25	49	2	10	36	10.5%	6.0%	735	89.5%	821
McLain	21	923	0	0	944	69.9%	68.3%	407	30.1%	1,351
Memorial	21	44	8	14	87	4.9%	2.5%	1,690	95.1%	1,777
Rogers	131	157	3	29	320	17.1%	8.4%	1,550	82.9%	1,870
Washington	23	521	1	0	545	50.7%	48.5%	529	49.3%	1,074
Webster	75	34	3	4	116	12.7%	3.7%	799	87.3%	915
TOTAL	530	2,402	56	117	3,109	21.1%	16.4%	11,583	78.9%	14,688
SEC.TOTAL	1,301	5,232	114	275	6,922	22.7%	17.1%	23,586	77.3%	30,508

Information from State Department of Education Application for Accrediting and school membership reports as of October 1, 1975

Table 10

Racial/Ethnic Distribution of Pupils
In the Tulsa Public Schools
As of November 1975

	American Indian	Black American	Asian American	Spanish Surnamed American	Minority Total	All Others	Grand Total
Elementary Schools	1,565	6,175	144	330	8,214	25,485	33,699
Percent	4.7%	18.3%	0.4%	1.0%	24.4%	75.6%	100.0%
Junior High Schools	771	2,830	58	158	3,817	12,003	15,820
Percent	4.8%	17.9%	0.4%	1.0%	24.1%	75.9	100.0%
Senior High Schools	530	2,402	56	117	3,105	11,583	14,688
Percent	3.6%	16.4%	0.3%	0.8%	21.1%	78.9%	100.0%
All Secondary Schools	1,301	5,232	114	275	6,922	23,586	30,508
Percent	4.3%	17.1%	0.4%	0.9%	22.7%	77.3%	100.0%
ALL SCHOOLS	2,866	11,407	258	605	15,136	49,071	64,207
Percent	4.5%	17.8%	0.4%	0.9%	23.6%	76.4%	100.0%

SOURCE: Dr. Paul I. McCloud, Assistant to Superintendent for Research Planning and Development, Nov. 18, 1975.

TABLE 11
Faculty Composition by Race, Tulsa Independent School District - 1968 - 1975

	Am. Ind.	%	Black	%	Asian Am.	%	Sp. Sur.	%	All Others	%	Total
Fall 1968	86	2.6	377	11.2	0	0.00	10	.3	2,887	85.9	3,360
" 1970	73	2.1	420	11.9	1	.0	6	.2	3,040	85.9	3,540
" 1972	79	2.4	389	11.9	0	0.00	10	.3	2,783	85.3	3,261
" 1974	67	2.1	402	12.6	0	0.00	10	.3	2,708	85.0	3,187
Spring 1976*	69	2.2	433	13.8	0	0.00	9	.3	2,616	83.7	3,127

Source: Tulsa ISD #1, Superintendent's Office, February 2, 1976.

Table 12

Employment by Race and Sex
Tulsa Independent School District, August 1976

	Total	Black	Am.* Indian	Percent Black	Number Women	Percent Women
Senior High Schools						
Principals	10	2	---	20.00%	0	---
Assistant Principals	23	3	---	13.04%	0	---
Counselors	56	10	---	17.86%	30	54.46%
Junior High Schools						
Principals	20	3	---	15.00%	0	---
Assistant Principals	22	3	---	13.64%	2	9.09%
Counselors	57	10	---	17.54%	31	54.39%
Elementary Schools						
Principals	75	8	---	10.67%	18	24.00%
Assistant Principals	8	2	---	25.00%	1	12.50%
Counselors	15	5	---	33.33%	13	86.67%

Source: Tulsa Public Schools' Division for Personnel Services, August 11, 1976
*Information not available.

Table 13

Overall Employment by Race, Sex, and Job Category -
Full-time Staff Only - as of March 1976.

Activity Assignment Classification	Totals	MALE					FEMALE				
		White	Black	Spanish Surnamed	Asian American	American Indian	White	Black	Spanish Surnamed	Asian American	American Indian
1. Officials, Managers, Administrators	44	36	4				4				
2. Principals	111	74	13			1	20	2			1
3. Asst. Principals, Teaching											
4. Asst. Principals, Non-teaching	53	42	7			1	2	1			
5. Elementary Teachers	1330	104	22	1		5	1007	165	4		22
6. Secondary Teachers	1329	506	61	3		17	620	110	1		11
7. Other Teachers	74	14	1				45	11			3
8. Guidance	139	48	8			2	56	20			5
9. Psychological	15	3					11	1			
10. Librarians/Audio-visual Staff	91	6	1				72	11			1
11. Consultants & Supervisors of Instruction	37	9	1			2	23	1			1
12. Other Professionals	79	7	3			2	50	4			13
13. Teacher Aides	181	1					124	46			10
14. Technicians	26	16					10				
15. Clerical/Secretarial	405	2					355	36	1		11
16. Service Workers	1368	334	100	2	6	5	798	94	4	1	24
17. Skilled Crafts	211	189	12	2	1	4	3				
18. Laborers, Unskilled	77	53	14			8	1				1
TOTAL	5570	1444	247	8	7	47	3201	502	10	1	103

SOURCE: Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Elementary-Secondary Staff Information (EEO-5) Public School Systems - Tulsa Independent School District, March 1976.

Table 14

Employment by Race, Sex, and General Employee Categories-Tulsa Independent School District - April 1976

Category	Total	Minority	Percent	Female	Percent
Instructional Personnel					
Teachers	2,857	388	13.6%	2,100	73.5%
Counselors	128	25	19.5%	75	58.2%
Assistant Principals	53	8	15.1%	3	5.7%
Principals	105	15	14.3%	18	17.1%
Nurses	45	3	6.7%	45	100.0%
Total	3,188	439	13.8%	2,241	70.3%
Support Personnel					
General Services	442	40	9.1%	416	94.1%
Garage, Grounds, Laundry	69	13	18.8%	3	4.4%
Custodians	467	106	22.7%	95	20.3%
Bus Drivers	115	26	22.6%	51	44.4%
Maintenance	208	16	7.7%	0	0.0%
Print Shop	9	0	8.7%	2	22.2%
Cafeterias	798	69	8.7%	798	100.0%
Warehouse	19	5	26.3%	0	0.0%
Total	2,127	275	12.9%	1,365	64.2%
Administrative/Management/Specialist					
Assistant Directors & Coordinators	20	1	5.0%	6	30.0%
Directors & Department Coordinators	6	0	0.0%	1	16.7%
ESC Specialists	53	4	7.6%	43	81.1%
Project Directors	3	0	0.0%	3	100.0%
Supervisors and Associate Supervisors	28	3	10.7%	22	78.6%
Superintendent's Staff	38	4	10.5%	3	7.9%
Total	148	12	8.1%	78	52.7%
Overall Total	5,463	726	13.3%	3,684	67.4%

Source: Tulsa Independent School District, Office of the Superintendent, Employee Current Status Report, April 1, 1976. Prepared by Associate Superintendent for Personnel Services. Aug. 11, 1976.

Table 10 shows the racial and ethnic distribution of all students attending public schools in Tulsa during the 1975-76 school year. Overall, minorities comprised about one-fourth of the total enrollment. Blacks and American Indians made up about 18 and 5 percent of the student population, respectively, at all levels. Asian Americans and Mexican Americans constituted only about 1 percent of the total enrollment at the elementary and secondary levels.

At the faculty level there has been a substantial increase in the number of black teachers and a corresponding decrease in the number of white teachers employed by the district between 1968 to 1975. This reflects, in part, the overall changes in student ethnicity throughout the district. Overall, black teachers comprise 14 percent of the faculty, while black students make up 18 percent of the student enrollment. Table 11 shows the faculty's ethnic composition from 1968 to 1975.

The school district voluntarily instituted an affirmative action program in August 1974.[24] Table 12 shows the number and percentage of blacks and women who are principals, assistant principals, or counselors at senior and junior high schools and elementary schools. The number and percentage of blacks in these positions correlates closely to the overall black student population ratio within the Tulsa public schools. The number of women in principal or assistant principal positions is extremely low.

Table 13 shows the overall employment in the Tulsa Independent School District by job category, race, and sex for the 1975-76 school year. The district currently employs 5,570 full-time staff members. Of this total, 2,733 or approximately 49 percent are employed as teachers. Three hundred and seventy (13.5 percent) are black. American Indians, on the other hand, compose only about 2 percent of the faculty. White teachers, in contrast, constitute slightly over 84 percent of the faculty at all levels. Thus, while minorities make up over 23 percent of the present student enrollment in the district, they constitute only 16 percent of the faculty.

At the administrative level, minorities comprise only a small percentage of the nonteaching professional staff. During the 1975-76 school year, for example, there were only two American Indian principals (one male and one female) and one American Indian assistant principal. There were five female and two male American Indian guidance counselors working for the school district. At the administrative level, of the 44 staff persons, 36 (or about 82 percent) were white males and four (or approximately 9 percent) were white females. In contrast, there were only four black male administrators on the central staff during the 1975-76 school year.

A careful assessment of the overall employment picture for the district indicates a severe imbalance in the distribution of minorities and women at all levels. Table 14 describes the employment composition for the district as of April 1, 1976, by race and sex, for three general employee categories: instructional personnel, support personnel, and administrative management/specialist personnel. Women are highly represented in such categories as teachers, counselors, nurses, general services, cafeteria workers, instructional supervisors, and specialists. There were more racial minorities, on the other hand, in the custodial and bus driver positions.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. Metropolitan Tulsa Chamber of Commerce, Office of Research, Census Data: The Tulsa Area (1973), p. 1.

2. Ibid.

3. Okl. Const. art. 1,§1 (1907).

4. Indian Nations Council of Governments, Regional Housing Study, vol. III (June 1974), pp. 6-8.

5. Ibid.

6. Metropolitan Tulsa Chamber of Commerce, Office of Research, Census Data: The Tulsa Area (1973).

7. Indian Nations Council of Governments, Regional Housing Study: A Housing Strategy for Stability and Balance, 3 vols. (Tulsa: Indian Nation Council of Governments, June 1974) vol. 3, pp. 5-6.

8. John Piercey, Metropolitan Tulsa Economic Profile: 1976, The Economic Commission of Tulsa, p. 6.

9. U.S., Bureau of the Census, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Census of Population: 1970, Final Report PC(1)-C38 Oklahoma, table 89 (hereafter cited as General Social and Economic Characteristics).

10. Ibid., table 95.

11. U.S., Bureau of the Census, Subject Reports, Census of Population: 1970, Final Report PC(2)-1F American Indians, table 14 (hereafter cited as American Indians, Subject Report PC(2)-1F).

12. General Social and Economic Characteristics, table 90.

13. American Indians, Subject Report PC(2)-1F, table 14.

14. General Social and Economic Characteristics, table 83.

15. Ibid., table 91.

16. American Indians, Subject Report PC(2)-1F, table 11.

17. Tulsa Independent School District, Superintendent's Office, Racial/Ethnic Composition of the Student Enrollment in the Tulsa ISD (February 1976).

18. Tulsa Independent School District, research, planning and development department, Membership Report, Tulsa County Public Shools (K-12) (March 1975).

19. Data supplied by the superintendent's office of the Tulsa Independent School District No. 1, Feb. 2, 1976.

20. Dr. Paul McCloud, assistant to superintendent for research, planning and development, and Millard House, director, human relations department, Tulsa Independent School District, Education Service Center, staff interviews, Tulsa, Okla., February 1976.

21. Indian Nations Council of Governments, Regional Housing Study: A Housing Strategy for Stability and Balance (1974), pp. 11-13.

22. Ibid.

23. McCloud Interview.

24. Tulsa Independent School District, office of the superintendent, Tulsa, Okla.

IV. AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF DESEGREGATION IN TULSA

Up until 1954 all Tulsa schools were totally segregated by race as required by Oklahoma State law.[1] Black students attended separate schools that were completely staffed by black teachers and received funds from a separate county log. In 1954 there were six black schools in Tulsa: Johnson, Dunbar, Bunche, and South Haven Elementaries, Carver Junior High, and Washington Senior High. These schools had a total enrollment of 4,573 students, or 9.3 percent of the 49,212 in the Tulsa public schools.[2]

In 1954 the United States Supreme Court declared in its historic Brown v. Board of Education decision[3] that the "separate but equal" doctrine was unconstitutional. Up to this point Oklahoma schools had always operated under this doctrine. In the fall of 1955, school attendance zones in Tulsa were redrawn, utilizing the "neighborhood" school concept, but without regard to "race, color, religion or national origin." The new zones did place some black children in previously all-white schools and some white children in previously all-black schools. However, this realigning of attendance zones was negated by the school board's policy of allowing any student to transfer from a school in which his or her race was a minority to a school where his or her race was a majority upon the request of the parents.[4]

The effect of the school board's transfer policy was dramatically illustrated when the Burroughs Elementary School population changed from a black student minority enrollment of 30.9 percent in April 1959 to a black majority enrollment of 62 percent by the end of the 1959-60 school year. The primary cause was not a massive infusion of black families into the area, but rather the outmigration of whites who either physically moved from the area or obtained medical transfers for their children once black enrollment

exceeded 50 percent.[5] The Tulsa Tribune carried the following story about Burroughs Elementary on September 25, 1959:

> For the first time since Tulsa integrated its public schools in 1955, Negro enrollment in a previously all-white elementary school has passed the fifty percent mark. The Board of Education today announced it will hold to its policy of permitting children to transfer to another district. Following the withdrawal Thursday afternoon of two white children whose parents have moved out of the school district, the percentage of Negro children at Burroughs School rose to 50.35 percent.
>
> ...the superintendent had this to say: "We have had some inquiries during the summer and fall from a few of the parents with respect to the Board of Education's policy that whenever a school becomes predominantly Negro or white, the parents of children in whichever group is in the minority may request a transfer to another school. During the next two weeks, those parents wishing to move their children to another school should make formal application for transfer to Dr. Byron Shepherd. We would like to receive all such requests on or before October 12."

The article further noted:

> The superintendent said the Burroughs situation basically is a "real estate problem" and one that required "patience and understanding." There are three schools to which students could transfer: Emerson, with a present enrollment of 300 white students and 112 Negro; Osage, 337 white, and Lombard, 338 white. School officials said there was some room at all of these schools, but that if large numbers of white students are granted transfers it may result in overcrowding.
>
> Since the beginning of the school year, 64 white students have requested transfers out

of Burroughs. Forty-five have been granted. Most of these have been for medical or special reasons.[6]

It seems evident from this article that, if any parents were questioning whether or not to keep their children at Burroughs, they were to make their decision quickly. Apparently the school administration was expecting many requests for transfers as indicated by the complete information given as to which schools could accept them. This conclusion is further supported by a release issued the following week stating that 16 white students had requested transfers; the superintendent was quoted as being surprised at the low figure.[7] The school board allowed "minority to majority" transfers up until 1965. The policy was finally discontinued at the insistence of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and supporting judicial mandate.[8]

With the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, desegregation took on a new urgency in Tulsa. On May 19, 1965, the Tulsa public schools' plan for desegregation was submitted to the U.S. Commissioner of Education. Even though the plan did little to eliminate the disproportionate number of students of one race in certain schools, the Commissioner approved the plan on August 31, 1965.[9]

On July 30, 1968, the Attorney General of the United States filed suit against the Tulsa Independent School District. The Attorney General charged the district with failing to comply with its constitutional obligation to maintain and operate a unitary school system. Four specific elements of racial discrimination by the school district were charged:

1. Assigning students by designing school attendance zones in such a manner as to segregate students on the basis of race,

2. Permitting transfers of students which in some instances had the purpose and effect of segregating students on the basis of race,

3. Assigning faculty and staff members among various schools on a racially segregated basis, and

4. Constructing new schools and additions to schools on the basis of policies and practices which in some instances have the purpose and effect of segregating students on the basis of race.[10]

On March 25, 1969, U.S. District Judge Fred Daugherty from the Northern District of Oklahoma dismissed the complaint filed by the Justice Department. His memorandum opinion reads, in part:

> Our Circuit Court has considered the problem of school desegregation in two cases, one involving Kansas City, Kansas, Downs v. Board of Education of Kansas City, supra, and the other Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, Board of Education of Oklahoma City Pub. Sch. v. Dowell, 375 F.2d 158 (1967) cert. den. 387 U.S. 931, 87 S. Ct. 2054, 18 L.ED.2d 993. In both of these cases the Circuit Court gave the stamp of approval to the neighborhood school attendance plan or concept such as the Tulsa school system has adopted if the same is impartially maintained and administered. When this test is met, the neighborhood school attendance policy does not violate any fundamental constitutional principles or deprive any class of individuals of their constitutional rights.[11]

The district court further noted:

> It is true that at the present time certain schools are all white and certain schools are all Negro and other schools are predominantly white and some are predominantly Negro. But, this result is necessarily brought about because of the neighborhoods in which the races reside at this time in the City of Tulsa and not because of an intent and purpose on the part of the defendant school board to segregate the races in the school system.[12]

The case was appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit and argued in 1969. On July 28, 1970, the circuit court found that the prior decision by the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Oklahoma was incorrect and, therefore, reversed and remanded the judgment.[13] The circuit court noted that:

> As conceived, and as historically and currently administered, the Tulsa neighborhood school policy has constituted a system of state-imposed and state-preserved segregation, a continuing legacy of subtle yet effective discrimination.[14]

In response to the charges made by the Justice Department concerning four specific elements of racial discrimination by the school district, the court of appeals found:

> a. ...the appellee School District bears the affirmative duty of redescribing the Tulsa attendance zones so as to reduce and where reasonably possible to eliminate the racial identity of that group of students designed to attend any particular school.
>
> b. The pattern of new school construction must similarly be altered so as to affirmatively promote the creation of a unitary school system in Tulsa.
>
> c. As it presently stands the transfer system in Tulsa offers no promise, real or illusory, of aiding in the process of desegregation; it is an obstruction to the mandated conversion to a unitary system and consequently the appellee School District bears the affirmative duty of removing that obstruction and administering the transfer program in a manner consistent with the goal of complete elimination of segregation.
>
> d. The original plan of the School District recognized that specific commands, phrased in terms of stated ratios, were necessary to alleviate faculty segregation and that, in fact, such ratios could be satisfied. Accordingly, no compelling reason exists to withdraw from that

previously recognized constitutional obligation. The original plan of the appellee School District should, therefore, be reinstated.[15]

In summation, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit held:

> The judgment of the district court is reversed and remanded with orders that the appellee School District begin immediately to effect the disestablishment of the segregated school system in Tulsa, for, as the Supreme Court has repeated, the time for "all deliberate speed" has run out. Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education, 396 U.S. 1218, 90 S.Ct. 14, 24 L.Ed.2d 41. It is the affirmative duty of the appellee School District to come forward with a realistic, presently effective plan for desegregation, Green, supra, and it is the continuing duty of the district court to retain jurisdiction over the case until it is clear that constitutional requirements have been achieved. Raney v. Board of Education, 391 U.S. 443, 449, 88 S.Ct. 1697, 20 L.Ed. 2d 727.[16]

From the time the U.S. Attorney General filed suit in July 1968 to the court of appeal's decision in July 1970, a number of events related to desegregation were unfolding in Tulsa.

The first phase of faculty desegregation was implemented during fall 1968. About 180 teachers were involuntarily transferred by the school district with the objective of integrating all faculties. However, rather than accept these new assignments, a number of teachers decided to resign. The black community contended that the school board had transferred relatively less-qualified white teachers to predominantly black schools and taken out some of the best black teachers.

In 1969 a special committee was appointed by the superintendent to make an intensive study of problems related to faculty integration.[17] The implementation of its recommendations (among these was to have one-third

of the faculty at predominantly black schools composed of white teachers, with the remaining available black teachers distributed equitably throughout the school system) was stopped after 1 year when the court of appeals found the school system's plan unacceptable. On August 14, 1970, involuntary transfer letters were sent to additional teachers to bring the white and black faculty ratio in each school to approximately 88 percent white and 12 percent black. This ratio corresponded with the approximate racial composition of the district as a whole.[18]

In December 1968 school boundaries were redrawn, affecting about 5,100 white students and 1,200 black students out of a total student enrollment of about 80,000. The University of Oklahoma Consultative Center, at the invitation of the Tulsa school board, did conduct a program funded by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to aid those persons who were involved in school desegregation for the first time. The program, which was in effect from mid-November to the end of December 1968, included: inservice programs for teachers from 13 schools; counseling programs which worked with parents as well as students and school personnel; workshops for teachers, counselors, and administrators; and dialogue between experienced teachers from desegregated schools with teachers who would be teaching in desegregated schools for the first time. During the summer of 1969, the consultative center operated a voluntary learning laboratory for administrators, counselors, and teachers, and also sponsored a 6-day human relations workshop during the 1969-70 school year in an effort to increase community understanding.[19]

In August 1970 the department of human relations was established in the Tulsa public schools to succeed the consultative center, with funding under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.[20] Millard House was appointed director. The objectives of the department were to provide advisory services to school and community personnel, strengthen the self-concept of minority students, provide inservice workshops for school personnel involved in the desegregation process, improve the school environment, establish human relations councils, and create a volunteer tutorial corps. During the 1971-72 school year the department

encouraged the use of multiethnic materials in the schools. It was also instrumental in getting the multiethnic center established.

Workshops for student activity sponsors, cheerleaders, pep club leaders, student council sponsors, and student representatives from desegregated secondary schools were conducted. The objective of these workshops was to explore the reasons for the lack of participation in activities and to encourage greater participation of minority students in various school-sponsored activities. The department met with interested parents to assist in alleviating some concerns regarding the majority-minority transfer policy. The department also conducted human relations workshops for the staff members of designated elementary and secondary schools and for classified school personnel. A 4-day workshop was conducted in August 1971 for educators newly assigned to a desegregated school.[21]

The department also established human relations councils in all desegregated schools to develop understanding, improve communication, and provide for more effective human relations with principal, counselors, teachers, classified personnel, students, and parents in desegregated schools. The councils were charged with identifying problems arising out of faculty-staff-student-community relationships and seeking solutions. They encouraged self-examination of attitudes and prejudices among school personnel, students, and parents.

The department held weekly evening meetings with parents and community leaders in the Roosevelt Junior High and Madison Junior High area to develop suggestions for reducing racial tensions which had prompted parental concern.[22]

A 24-member advisory committee (composed of representatives of the school district, community leaders, the Urban League of Tulsa, the Mayor's Youth Council, the University of Oklahoma Consultative Center for EEO, the Community Relations Commission, the NAACP, the Southwest Center for Human Relations Studies, and the Indian Affairs Commission) was established by the department. This committee met monthly with the

superintendent of schools to suggest and share action strategies in attacking the problems associated with desegregation in the Tulsa school district.[23]

The department also established in August 1971, a demonstration school in human relations for kindergarten to sixth-grade teachers experiencing difficulty in their assignments. Staff members of the nine paired and clustered elementary schools attended an all-day workshop. The following week, teacher representatives from each of the paired schools spent half a day in classroom observation at the newly paired school. The remainder of the day was spent in a workshop with special consultants, who were model teachers with experience in a desegregated school environment. The last day was spent in an all-day workshop attended by 35 teachers, principals, and a consultant, Dr. Larry Zenke, director of elementary education, Jacksonville, Florida. There were also follow up meetings at the school level, and, finally, a student orientation program for the paired schools.[24]

The department of human relations, under a contract with HEW, also updated a self-pacing learning package to help an individual, working in a situation where his or her ethnic group is in the minority, to acquire positive human relations skills. The package was entitled TULSAPAC. The department also developed a brochure entitled "Improving Human Relations Understanding Within the Schools" for administrators, teachers, professionals, and paraprofessionals.[25]

The student transfer policy was amended in 1968 by the school board to include a majority-to-minority provision which allowed any student to transfer from a school where his or her race was in the majority to a school where his or her race was in a minority.

In 1969 a desegregation plan went into effect. It called for integrating faculties on a basis of one black teacher in each predominantly white elementary school; two in each predominantly white secondary school; and a 50-50 ratio in predominantly black schools. The plan also called for eliminating transfers on grounds other than those of improving the education or welfare of the student. A third major element of the plan called for stepping up integration

at 15 schools (located mostly in north Tulsa) by changing attendance area boundaries and encouraging majority-to-minority transfers. The plan further called for the pairing of Lindsey Elementary School, a predominantly white elementary school, and Douglas, a predominantly black elementary school.[26]

The January 1970 issue of the League of Women Voters of Tulsa (LWV) Monthly Bulletin listed the following results of the plan:

> The Majority to Minority plan has resulted in 4 white students transferring to predominantly black schools and 200 Negro students transferring to predominantly white schools--mostly to Central (High School).
>
> The boundary changes resulted in 17 blacks attending Rogers (High School) and 35 whites at Washington, instead of the 180 whites expected. Rezoning does not seem to work because the whites move out.
>
> Integration of the faculty is achieved by assignment. Approximately 200 teachers were reassigned to achieve racial balance. With some exceptions this method seems to be working.
>
> The pairing of Lindsey and Douglas has not yet taken place.[27]

Interviews by representatives from the League of Women Voters with individual school board members indicated that the board was reluctant to go beyond the minimum requirements forced upon them by the courts. Moreover, they believed, it was the Federal Government's responsibility to devise the desegregation plan.[28]

In their testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity on School Desegregation in Tulsa, representatives of the League of Women Voters quoted an article written by the education editor of the chamber of commerce magazine, Tulsa, in which he accused the school board of:

> ...making major decisions in secrecy and failing to grapple with problems in the public...the board members are "hand picked" by the school administrator...southside candidates consistently win over better qualified candidates from other sections of the city.[29]

School board members labled this article as inaccurate and "written in a vein of bias discrimination."

Dr. Gordon Cawelti took over as superintendent on May 1, 1969. In his first public statements, he expressed his awareness of the need for an integrated school system to the press and local organizations. He told the chamber of commerce, "Public Education must do its share to secure civil rights for all citizens." In a Tulsa World interview, Dr. Cawelti stated that schools must look for ways "to overcome widespread racial, religious and ethnic prejudice and discrimination." He affirmed that:

> Housing is the biggest instrument of segregation and can be used to help achieve racial balance. Where new housing is located, what sort of housing it is and what opportunities are made available for Negro families to live there, all play decisive roles in the racial development of any area.[30]

It appeared that the school board's initial minimal efforts towards desegregation stemmed from a desire to avoid the controversies and political upheavals associated with school desegregation. Prior to August 1971, efforts to integrate the school system could truly be described as meager.[31] In December 1970 the school district claimed that 46 of the district's 48 elementary schools were integrated.[32] However, nine of these schools had more than 88 percent black enrollment; 31 schools had less than 3 percent black enrollment; and 1 had a black enrollment of 4.5 percent. The proposed plan of December 1970 suggested an increase in black enrollment at Hawthorne Elementary School from 95.7 percent to 97.9 percent. Proposed boundary changes would have added one white student to the Carver Junior High School enrollment of 790 black

students and brought the 100 percent black enrollment figure to 99.8.[33]

Throughout the desegregation process it was reported that the school board did not involve the public to any significant extent in formulating its various desegregation plans. Its approach had been to let the public respond after the fact. For the most part, proposed plans until 1971 dealt mainly with preserving the neighborhood school concept and implementing change through building modifications and boundary changes.[34]

In February 1971 the League of Women Voters urged the school board to:

> ...explore more innovative educational methods in more exciting settings such as magnet schools or educational parks, with programs of excellence that would naturally attract students from all parts of the city. This kind of planning would deal with solutions to the problems created by Tulsa's segregated housing patterns.[35]

Other groups, such as the Community Relations Commission, the NAACP, the Urban League, social concerns groups from Unitarian churches, and the citizens' participation arm of the local Model Cities program also began to prod the school board to be more innovative.[36] However, on March 1, 1971, the Tulsa Board of Education officially adopted the Amended Plan of Desegregation, which closely paralleled the December 1970 proposed plan.[37] The board's Amended Plan of Desegregation, which came 8 months after the court of appeals ruling, did little to desegregate Tulsa's public schools. The plan did order the integration of the faculty at all schools in the district on a ratio of 88 percent white to 12 percent black. The plan also encouraged the voluntary transfer of students from schools in which they were in the majority to schools in which they were the minority. But when it came to actual substantive changes in the racial mixing of the student population, the board limited its plan to minor boundary changes. This plan proved unacceptable to the Department of Justice, which in June 1971 proposed a

counter plan, which was in turn found unacceptable to the board of education.[38]

Soon after the school board adopted its amended plan, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its famous school busing decision in the Swann case. In that case, the Supreme Court held:

> ...that where a dual school system had been maintained by school authorities and the school board had defaulted in its duty to come forward with an acceptable plan of its own, the limited use of mathematical ratios of white to black students, not as an inflexible requirement but as a starting point in the process of shaping a remedy, was within the equitable remedial discretion of the District Court; and, that the pairing and grouping of non-contiguous school zones is a permissible tool to be considered in the light of the objective of remedying past constitutional violations; and, that where it appeared that assignment of children to the school nearest their home serving their grade would not produce an effective dismantling of the dual system, the ordering of a system of bus transportation, which compared favorably with the transportation plan previously operated in the district, as one tool of school desegregation, was within the power of the district court.[39]

The president of the Tulsa school board acknowledged "there are probably some aspects of our plan we will have to amend in light of the court ruling." He said, "On the face of it, it doesn't look like a vote of confidence for the neighborhood school plan." He stressed that "it would be a mistake to assume there will be massive busing in Tulsa next fall."[40]

The U.S. Supreme Court ruling aroused the fears of many Tulsans, and a vigorous antibusing group was created to protest any deviation from the neighborhood school concept.[41] Because of community pressure, the school board decided to back away from the controversy.[42] The board submitted a new plan on July

21, 1971, in which the elementary school proposal of the March 1 plan was retained but two significant changes were to be made at the secondary level: (1) the establishment of a Metro Learning Center at Washington High School based on the magnet school concept, and (2) the closing of Carver Junior High School and the division of its area into noncontiguous zones in order to bus the black students to surrounding white junior high schools.[43] This decision, which was negotiated between the Department of Justice and the Tulsa public schools, became an order signed by U.S. District Judge Fred Daugherty in July 1971.[44] It was to provide the impetus for more desegregation.

With the commencement of the 1971-72 school year, there emerged a new impetus for desegregating Tulsa's schools in an efficient and equitable manner. According to one report:

> The decision to close Carver (a previously all-black junior high school) precipitated quite a furor, not only in the black community but also among many sympathetic whites who felt the plan placed the major burden of integration on black children.[45]

The white neighborhood schools were preserved, while black children were bused to noncontiguous school zones.[46] In protest over Carver's closing, the Coalition for Quality Education organized and opened, in September 1971, the Carver Freedom School. The coalition was a broadly based community organization which, at the time of the opening of the school, had the support of many community organizations, including the citizens' participation arm of the local Model Cities program, the NAACP, the Urban League, the League of Women Voters, the American Association of University Women, and others. The steering committee of the coalition served as the board of directors for Freedom School, and the finance committee of the coalition took upon itself the responsibility of raising funds for the nonprofit school. Most of the money raised came from the black community. At one point, Carver Freedom School had an enrollment of 239 students, but owing to a lack of funds, the school was forced to close in December 1971. Although the school did not operate very long, its mere presence provided some of the much-

needed drive to further pursue and improve desegregation efforts.[47]

But long before Carver Freedom School's closing, the demands on the school board could be heard throughout the community. Private citizens and community organizations alike were pressing the school board to develop a comprehensive plan of integration rather than let the court impose a plan upon the community. On September 15, 1971, the League of Women Voters submitted an integration plan. Leaders from the black community and the Community Relations Commission of the city of Tulsa also presented proposals at the request of the school board.[48]

The board continued to receive requests to reopen Carver as a public school, and the only black member of the school board, Eugene Harris, spoke out vehemently for its reopening. When he made a resolution to that effect, the motion died for lack of a second.[49] Finally, in November 1971 the board of education met to reconsider its position; but, with a split vote, it reaffirmed that Carver would remain closed. Demonstrations, neighborhood meetings, prayer marches, picketing, and sit-ins at the education service center followed.[50] Only when the school board began to show an interest in reopening Carver did the demonstrations cease.[51]

On February 7, 1972, the board authorized the superintendent to apply for Model Cities funds for a new Carver Middle School. The Model Cities program had offered to pay part of the cost of renovating Carver so that it could be reopened as a new innovative school. The Target Area Action Group (TAAG), the citizens' participation arm of the Model Cities program, played a very important part in obtaining Model Cities money and support.[52]

While the plans for opening the Carver Freedom School were still being discussed, another group of interested white parents began a series of meetings with school officials to discuss the possibility of an experimental voluntarily integrated school. This group met with some 200 black and white parents at Burroughs Elementary School to discuss the project further. Assured that there would be sufficient voluntary

students, the school administration remodeled and equipped temporary buildings on the Burroughs campus; thus, the Burroughs Little School was born, opening in November 1971 with a limited enrollment of 79 black and 98 white students. The school offered an innovative, progressive curriculum. Black students came from the Burroughs area, while the white students were transported from all sections of the school district. Its success story gave credibility to the voluntary integration concept.[53]

Another impetus to the desegregation effort was the operation of the former Douglas Elementary School as Douglas Freedom School from fall through mid-December of 1970. This came about with the school board's decision to close Douglas Elementary (predominantly black) instead of implementing the proposed pairing with Lindsey Elementary (predominantly white). The 1969 pairing plan was first postponed to 1970 and then abruptly abandoned 4 weeks before the scheduled implementation. Then, the school board announced the closing of Douglas. This was a serious blow to the black community. Although there was minimal community support for the Douglas Freedom School, the small group of parents managed its operation despite many obstacles.[54]

There were many community organizations and private citizens who aided in the desegregation push. For example, in May 1971 the president and executive minister of the Tulsa Metropolitan Ministry (TMM) sent a letter urging all its members to: (a) encourage the board of education to take the initiative to develop a plan for comprehensive integration rather than to wait for a plan to be imposed by the court; (b) influence others to support the plan ultimately approved by the board and court, and to treat all men as brothers while the city adjusted to the changes required; and, (c) attend informational and planning meetings on the same subject.[55]

In June 1971 the Community Relations Commission in Tulsa, chaired by T. Austin Gavin and directed by Gerald L. Parker, released a public statement warning that the plan submitted by the board of education was not an adequate answer to the requirements for "genuine, comprehensive integration of the Tulsa public

schools." The commission further stated, "It is highly probable that the courts will require a more comprehensive integration plan than that which has been submitted." The commission also asked the community to support the lawful and orderly integration of Tulsa public schools, even though the plan would probably involve some busing and modification of the neighborhood school concept.[56]

In further support, a letter from James W. Snider, clerk of the session, Church of the Advent, to Robert A. Beckstrom, president of the board of education, endorsed the statements on integration of the Tulsa public schools made by the League of Women Voters and endorsed the report of the Community Relations Commission. The United Presbyterian congregation concurred in the belief that "integrated education is superior to racially isolated schools."[57]

During the summer of 1971 the Community Relations Commission sponsored a seminar on "The Positive Aspects of Integration." Dr. Charles Butler of the Oklahoma University Consultative Center was the keynote speaker and Dr. Lyle Young of the Tulsa Public Schools Educational Research Department provided the seminar with data on student achievement in schools which had been desegregated.[58]

In May 1971 the mass media-minority group relations committee passed a resolution regarding the announcement of the school board not to submit a new plan to the district court. The intent of the resolution was to try to persuade the school board to reconsider its decision. In an effort to gain the support of the mass media, representatives of the committee personally delivered the resolution to the media and explained its purpose. The resolution was also presented to the school board at its meeting of June 7, 1971.[59]

The impetus for desegregating Tulsa's public schools had begun, but a viable and comprehensive plan had not yet been formulated or implemented. The courts, the school board, and the community still could not reach agreement.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. Okl. Const. art. 13, §3, (1907) repealed by Referendum Petition No. 149 (Adopted election May 3, 1966).

2. Paul I. McCloud, Neither Black Nor White: A Progress Report on Integration in the Tulsa Public Schools (Tulsa: Tulsa Public Schools, n.d.), p. 2.

3. 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

4. Community leaders, staff interviews, Tulsa, Okla., February 1976 (hereafter cited as Community Leaders Interviews).

5. Karl Thiele, "The Racially Changing Community" (M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1962), pp. 69-93.

6. "Negro Enrollment Exceeds White at Burroughs School," Tulsa Tribune, Sept. 25, 1959, p. 21.

7. "16 Burroughs Students Ask for Transfers," Tulsa World, Sept. 29, 1959, p. 15.

8. United States v. Board of Education, Independent School District No. 1, Tulsa County, Oklahoma, 429 F.2d 1253, 1257 (10th Cir. 1970). All references to this case will hereafter be cited as U.S. v. Tulsa Sch. Dist

9. Amendments and Amplifications to Tulsa Public School's Plan for Desegregation as submitted to the U.S. Commissioner of Education (May 19, 1965).

10. U.S. v. Tulsa Sch. Dist., Original Complaint, July 30, 1968.

11. Ibid., p. 3.

12. Ibid., p. 9.

13. U.S. v. Tulsa Sch. Dist., 429 F.2d 1253 (10th Cir. 1970).

14. Id., at 1259.

15. Id., at 1260-61.

16. Id., at 1261.

17. McCloud, p. 2.

18. Ibid., p. 3.

19. League of Women Voters of Tulsa, "Testimony for Senate Select Committee on Equal Education Opportunity on School Desegregation In Tulsa, Oklahoma," Feb. 2, 1971, part I, mimeographed, p. 2.

20. 42 U.S.C. §2000c et seq.

21. Millard House, director, department of human relations, Tulsa Independent School District. Education Service Center, staff interview, Tulsa, Okla., February 1976 (hereafter cited as House Interview).

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. McCloud, pp. 2-3.

27. League of Women Voters of Tulsa, Monthly Bulletin, Tulsa, Okla., January 1970, p. 4.

28. Ibid., p. 5.

29. Ibid.

30. Tulsa World, May 1969, p. 7.

31. Community Leaders Interviews.

32. Tulsa Public Schools, Proposals on School Integration for Community Discussion Purposes (December 1970), p. 3 (mimeographed).

33. Ibid., p. 8.

34. Community Leaders Interviews.

35. League of Women Voters of Tulsa, "Testimony of Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity on School Desegregation in Tulsa, Oklahoma," Feb. 2, 1971, part II, p. 3.

36. Community Leaders Interviews.

37. Tulsa Independent School District, Amended Plan of Desegregation (Mar. 1, 1971).

38. School officials, Tulsa ISD, staff interviews, February 1976.

39. Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education, 402 U.S. 1, 91 S. Ct. 1267 (1971).

40. "Board Chief Doubts Massive Student Busing Here," Tulsa World, Apr. 21, 1971.

41. School Officials and Community Leaders Interviews.

42. Ibid.

43. U.S. v. Tulsa Sch. Dist., Order, July 23, 1971, at 2 and 3.

44. U.S. v. Tulsa Sch. Dist., Order, July 23, 1971.

45. McCloud, p. 3.

46. Ibid.

47. Community Leaders Interviews.

48. Ibid.

49. Dr. Earl Reeves, "Voluntary Integration In Tulsa: A Case Study" (unpublished paper, Tulsa, Okla.), p. 7 (hereafter cited as "Voluntary Integration").

50. The education service center houses the administrative offices of the Tulsa Independent School District.

51. Tulsa Public Schools, department of information services, Annual Report of the Superintendent (1972), p. 22.

52. Community Leaders Interviews.

53. "Voluntary Integration," pp. 5-6.

54. Community Leaders and School Officials Interviews.

55. Religious leaders, staff interviews, Tulsa, Okla., February 1976.

56. Tulsa Community Relations Commission, press statement, June 9, 1971.

57. James W. Snider, clerk of the session, Church of the Advent, letter to Robert A. Beckstrom, president, Tulsa Board of Education, Feb. 27, 1971.

58. House Interview.

59. Community Leaders Interviews.

V. TULSA'S SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PLAN: SUCCESS BORN OUT OF FAILURE

> The history of desegregation in Tulsa is a prologue of fear, suspicion, and distrust. It is a story of confrontation, demonstration, and frustration--but a story climaxed by groups of concerned citizens coming together to hammer out solutions to a problem that has left many communities smouldering in hate and bitterness.[1]

A pretrial conference was held on June 15, 1971, in the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Oklahoma between attorneys for the U.S. Department of Justice and the Tulsa Independent School District. On June 15, 1971, the district court ordered the following provisions of a desegregation plan for implementation by the start of the 1971-72 school year:

1. The ratio of black to white teachers and other staff in each school will be substantially the same as the ratio is to teachers and other staff on the same educational level throughout the entire school system. A 5 percent deviation, or tolerance factor, from the ratio will be permitted. To carry out this element of the plan, the school district will direct members of its staff to accept new assignments as a condition to continued employment.

2. Staff members will be hired, promoted, paid, demoted, dismissed, and otherwise treated without regard to race, color, or national origin.

3. Intradistrict transfers on the basis of specifically defined criteria in the areas of special programs, child care, transportation, guidance, and work schedule will be granted on an annual basis, subject to availability of space, if the request is in writing and sworn under oath. Students receiving such transfers will be monitored.

4. A pupil whose race makes up a majority in his or her attendence zone shall be transferred upon his or her request to a school where students of his or her race are in a minority.

5. School construction, consolidation, and site selection shall be done in such a manner as to promote affirmatively the creation and maintenance of a unitary school system free from racial discrimination.[2]

6. Special programs (remedial reading, speech therapy, educable mentally handicapped, and guidance counseling) shall be implemented at schools whose student enrollment is predominantly black.

7. The board of education must file a statistical report each October 1 so long as the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Oklahoma has jurisdiction on the following:

   a. Student/staff/faculty racial composition

   b. Boundary changes

   c. Intradistrict transfers

   d. Construction plans[3]

On June 30, 1971, counsels for the plaintiff (the U.S. Justice Department) and defendants (Tulsa Board of

Education) met before the district court for a further pretrial conference to try to resolve the remaining issues. The parties conferred again on July 13 and 14, 1971. On July 23, 1971, a court order was issued by U.S. District Judge Frederick A. Daugherty. The order held that the school district would implement the following desegregation plan for the 1971-72 school year:

> The district will develop
>
> 1. A junior high school desegregation plan in which: (a) Carver and Lowell Junior High Schools will be closed, and (b) the utilization of a noncontiguous zoning approach which consists of the combination of rezoning nine junior high districts and the addition of noncontiguous attendance areas to seven junior high schools.
>
> 2. A senior high school desegregation plan in which a Metro Learning Center will be established within the present Washington High School on a desegregated basis and will operate in conjunction with the present Washington program. Washington High School students will be noncontiguously zoned with the existing nine senior high schools upon the completion of Mason Senior High School or no later than the 1973-74 school year.
>
> 3. The construction of Mason Senior High School, Thoreau Junior High School and an addition to Foster Junior High School may proceed immediately.[4]

Having previously resolved the issues of intradistrict transfers, majority-minority transfers, special programs for predominantly black schools, reporting to the court, school construction, faculty integration, and desegregation plans for junior and senior high schools, Judge Daugherty issued a memorandum opinion on August 17, 1971, in regards to the manner of desegregating the elementary schools in

the district. The court held that, of the nine predominantly black elementary schools in question, five were de facto segregated (Whitman, Emerson, Burroughs, Frost, and Hawthorne). Judge Daugherty carefully differentiated between the equity powers of a Federal court in de jure segregation as opposed to de facto segregation:

> The Court is aware of no valid reason or argument why a given school which is predominantly of one race but which condition is not the result of any State discriminatory action, either by segregation laws or School Board policies, but the result of other causes independent of State action, should be given the label of a de jure segregated school and therefore subject to the equity powers of a Federal Court to enforce desegregation. Such a school it would appear should be given the label of a de facto segregated school and treated as such by the Federal courts.[5]

The court quoted Swann:

> It does not follow that the communities served by such systems will remain demographically stable, for in a growing, mobile society, few will do so. Neither school authorities nor district courts are constitutionally required to make year-by-year adjustments of the racial composition of student bodies once the affirmative duty to desegregate has been accomplished and racial discrimination through official action is eliminated from the system. This does not mean that federal courts are without power to deal with future problems; but in the absence of a showing that either the school authorities or some other agency of the State has deliberately attempted to fix or alter demographic patterns to affect the racial composition of the schools, further intervention by a district court should not be necessary.[6]

The district court found Woods, Johnson, Bunche, and Dunbar Elementary Schools to be de jure segregated schools presenting a constitutional violation. Owing to the impending start of the 1971-72 school year, the court approved the school district's elementary school plan as submitted.[7] However, directions were given to the school district to reexamine its plan for the de jure schools and to submit a new plan to the court within 90 days for those schools or show cause why they should not be the subject of more desegregation.[8]

On November 15, 1971, the board of education filed a plan for the four de jure elementary schools (Bunche, Dunbar, Johnson, and Wood) with the United States District Court for the Northern District of Oklahoma.[9] This plan was adopted by the court on December 27, 1971.[10] Some aspects of the plan were:

- One of the black schools would be paired or clustered with one or two white schools in each case.

- One small school would be closed.

- Selection of pupils to be enrolled in each school would be according to their grade assignment.

- The implementation of these approaches would result in children being in their home school for kindergarten plus either two or three more years. An exception to this would result with the closing of Longfellow.

- It was suggested that the semidepartmental organization be used for grades 3-6 in cluster plans, and 4-6 in simple pairing.

- The location of all special education classes would need to be evaluated since older special education pupils should be in buildings which house their chronological peers.

- Library materials and media equipment would need to be redistributed, but it was

anticipated that the total supply would be adequate.

•Seven hundred and forty-eight black pupils and 1,109 white pupils would be enrolled in a school different from 1971-72 (total 1,857).

•Majority to minority or greater minority to lesser minority transfers would be available on a volunteer basis.[11]

The Department of Justice appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit after the district court held that five of the predominantly black elementary schools (Whitman, Emerson, Burroughs, Frost, and Hawthorne) were de facto segregated and that their segregated status resulted not from discriminatory State action but rather was caused by population shifts in Tulsa. A group of intervening appellants joined with the Justice Department in this appeal to the Tenth Circuit. They challenge the district court's approval of the desegregation plan for the junior and senior high schools, claiming that the plan placed a disproportionate share of the burden of desegregation on the black community. The court of appeals rejected the arguments brought forth by both the Justice Department and the enjoining group of intervening appellants. On May 5, 1972, the court of appeals affirmed the district court's decision by stating:

> There is no universal plan for desegregation that will fit the problems of every school district. Neither is it possible to devise a plan that will please everyone. Desegregation plans must be formulated on a case-by-case basis, and preferably formulated and agreed to by the parties involved. Their validity should not depend on the whim or preferences of members of the Federal judiciary. They must be judged by constitutional standards. If they accomplish the desired goal of creating a unified school system, and do so in non-discriminatory manner, we are constrained to approve them....The plan approved by the district court is constitutionally sound. The

judgement of the district court is affirmed.[12]

The 1971 plan was implemented first in the junior high schools. This was the first phase of the plan--there was still the elementary school plan to be implemented at the beginning of the 1972-73 school year. In addition, modifications to the junior and senior high schools were to follow.

The junior high school phase called for the closing of all-black Carver Junior High School and the predominantly white Lowell Junior High School. The attendance boundaries of 13 junior high schools were redrawn so that no junior high school in the district had more than 33 percent black enrollment. Carver students were noncontiguously zoned to Bell, Edison, Hamilton, Madison, Whitney, Wilson, and Wright Junior High Schools. Anderson Junior High School, which had been all black, was desegregated by carefully redesigning its attendance area to include 60 percent whites. Only five junior high schools (Nimitz, Byrd, Skelly, Foster, and Lewis and Clark), all in the southeastern selection of Tulsa, were unaffected.[13]

The second portion of the first desegregation phase in Tulsa involved Washington High School. The Metro Learning Center opened in September 1971 within the previously all-black Washington High School. Characteristics of the metro school included:

1. Continuous Progress Curriculum--earning of credits based on predetermined competencies, award of credit made whenever student has performed satisfactorily.

2. Open Campus--attendance in school required only when classes are in session; for example, a student may arrive at 10 and leave at 2.

3. No grades--course work accomplished on "satisfactory" or "unsatisfactory" basis with no letter grade distinction.

4. "Living City" Curriculum--extensive involvement of students in social and political affairs at the city and state level. Field trips or committee investigations utilizing video taping for sharing with other students were developed. Examples of "Living City" curriculum:

   a. Governmental Affairs: attending city commission meetings, interviews with city commissioners, observing urban renewal, housing authority, Model Cities meetings, etc., writing the State legislature, meeting with legislators, drafting legislation on ordinances.

   b. Business or Industry: obtaining an inside look at the process of the corporate world, talking with management and labor.

   c. Social Concerns: investigating problems of ecology, health, poverty, etc., through contacts with agencies concerned with such matters.

5. Student Faculty Senate--a governance body that would jointly set rules and policy on the significant affairs and concerns of students.

6. Humanities Program--a unified approach to the study of the arts via period studies of art, music, literature, philosophy, and history. Museum and concert visits, guest lectures, films utilized to explore intercultural topics and discussions.

7. Basic Skills--demonstrated progress in competence required at fixed levels based on student's entry behaviors in handwriting, paragraph composition,

spelling, reading speed and comprehension, and basic mathematical skills.[14]

The Metro Learning Center was operated in conjunction with the regular high school at Washington and was to have continued this coexistence until the 1973-74 school year, when Mason High School would be completed. Then, according to the senior high school desegregation plan, the Washington facility was to be used exclusively for the Metro Learning Center with an estimated enrollment of 800 to 1,000 students on an integrated basis. Those students living within the Washington High School boundary would be noncontiguously zoned to nine other high schools, creating a black enrollment of 7 to 22 percent. However, the Metro Learning Center was discontinued after 1 year of operation. Despite recruitment efforts, enrollment at the end of the year had consisted of only 67 white students and 36 black students. Operating two different programs in one school facility had proved too conflicting. Thus, by the end of the 1971-72 school year, there was still no plan of integration for Washington High School.[15]

The 1971-72 school year saw student disorder in various schools, and security guards were placed in a number of junior high schools. There was, however, little violence for the most part. According to comments made to Commission staff by some school counselors, there was a definite rise in the number of disciplinary actions taken the first year, especially among blacks.[16] The number of disciplinary actions is now down to the level existing prior to desegregation.[17]

Concerted efforts, particularly at the junior high school level, were made by the district to help desegregation go smoothly. Orientation sessions were held for new students. In September 1971 adjustment counselors were assigned to nine newly desegregated junior high schools. The counselors provided services primarily to students in these schools, but also were available to other students who had problems adjusting to the desegregation process. Since September 1971, the school district's department of community affairs has provided support to students or parents with

problems arising out of desegregation, such as transportation or scheduling. The department further serves as an information center regarding school activities and ensures that parents are notified.[18]

Special math and reading programs were also initiated to aid those who needed help with basic skills. Activities were rescheduled and special buses were made available to encourage participation in extracurricular programs. However, neither portion of the first phase of desegregation had worked as smoothly as hoped. The closing of Carver Junior High School led to the Carver Freedom School and a turn of events in the junior high school desegregation effort. Discontinuing the Metro Learning Center because of token enrollment left no viable plan for the integration of Washington High School and compelled the board of education to come up with a new plan for senior high school desegregation.[19]

The second phase of the 1971 school desegregation plan was put into effect at the elementary school level during the fall of 1972. The plan called for the pairing of Woods (predominantly black) with Springdale (predominantly white) to achieve 56 and 42 percent black student enrollments, respectively. Bunche (predominantly black) was paired to Celia Clinton (predominantly white) to achieve 50 and 44.5 percent black enrollments, respectively. Dunbar (all black), Sequoyah and Whittier (both predominantly white) were clustered to achieve black student enrollments of 49.9, 28.7 and 31 percent, respectively. Additionally, Longfellow (predominantly white) was closed and its student population assigned to Johnson (predominantly black) to achieve a black student population of approximately 52.6 percent.[20]

Meanwhile, a small group of white parents, many of them from the city's two Unitarian churches, met quietly with school officials to propose what proved to be the first successful voluntary integration effort in the school district. A series of meetings was held between black and white patrons who wanted to explore the possibility of an experimental voluntary integrated elementary school with open classrooms and a continuous progress curriculum.

The board of education adopted the idea, and the Burroughs Little School opened on the campus of Burroughs Elementary School in November 1971. Since its opening, there has been a waiting list to get in. Like the Metro Learning Center, Burroughs Little School was not really part of the main school. But, unlike the Metro Center, it was the result of parental initiative in design, thus giving it strong roots in the community.[21]

The second phase (elementary school desegregation) of the 1971 school desegregation plan went more smoothly than the first phase of junior and senior high school desegregation. Time delays, owing to legal action by the school board, delayed the inception of the second phase to the 1972-73 school year. Although a few families moved out of affected neighborhoods initially, the racial balances in the paired elementaries have held, demonstrating that desegregation can work.[22]

The third phase of the voluntary desegregation effort grew out of the school board's initial failure to recognize that both the closing of Carver Junior High School and the hasty imposition of a Metro Leaning Center plan on Washington High School would have a disasterous educational and economic impact on the black community, particularly in the Model Neighborhood area.

Only after the black community demonstrated its concern and frustration over the closing of Carver Junior High School by withdrawing children from the junior high schools, establishing the Carver Freedom School, holding neighborhood meetings, picketing and conducting sit-ins at the education service center, and holding prayer marches did the board of education relent and consider a plan for the reopening of Carver Junior High School.[23]

Eugene Harris, the lone black member of the school board, had spoken out in a condemnation of the closing of Carver and called for it to be reopened on a voluntarily desegregated basis drawing from lessons learned at Burroughs Little School. Tulsa's Model Cities program offered to pay part of the cost of renovating Carver so it could be reopened as a new

innovative school. The Tulsa Board of Education, on February 7, 1972, reversed its earlier position and authorized the superintendent to apply for the Model Cities funds for a new Carver Middle School. The cost for renovating Carver was $609,000, with the Tulsa Model Cities program providing $449,000. Model Cities also provided $169,000 out of the approximately $500,000 first-year operating budget for Carver.[24]

The Carver Middle School proposal called for the creation of a new design program for grades six through nine. The impetus for the middle school concept came from Dr. Bruce Howell, who was the assistant superintendent for curriculum and subsequently served as the superintendent of the Tulsa school district from July 1973 to August 1976. An intensive information and recruitment program was launched by the school administration, joined by some 15 community organizations. Brochures were printed and distributed throughout the community. Meetings were held in churches and private homes. Materials were distributed in all elementary and junior high schools.[25]

The proposal called for a first-year enrollment of 250 students, 60 percent white and 40 percent black. Students who applied for a transfer to Carver Middle School were screened before being admitted. Past scholastic achievements, attendance records, and disciplinary actions were ta' en into consideration. Bus transportation was provided for all students living more than 1-1/2 miles from the school. Recruitment went slowly at first but eventually picked up momentum, and the school opened in September 1973 with 276 students (108 black and 168 white) instead of the goal of 250. The students transferred in from 44 different elementary schools, 17 junior high schools, and 17 private or parochial schools. In 1974 the student enrollment doubled to 500 students, with a 50-50 ratio.[26]

Carver Middle School is directed by an administrative team of two principals (one black and one white--one in charge of administration and the other in charge of instruction). The instructional program focuses on four areas:

•Communication skills including reading, writing, listening, and speaking;

•Mathematics/science;

•Humanities including social studies, art, foreign languages, drama, and literature;

•Exploratory arts including courses in music, industrial arts, home economics, and business.[27]

Two learning strategies are employed. A continuous progress approach, which allows students to advance at their own rate, is used for communication skills and mathematics; and, an experience-oriented approach is used for science, humanities, and exploratory arts.

The school day is divided into four periods of approximately 90 minutes' duration. Team teaching is utilized with members of each team working in their field of expertise with one-fourth of the student body. The students are organized into multi-age grouped classes (or "families") consisting of sixth through ninth grades in each family. Multi-aged families help initiate responsibility among older members and provide a more realistic social intermix. They move, as a family group, to the various program components throughout the day. Time is set aside for daily homeroom contacts with teachers and counselor advisers.[28]

The program at Carver Middle School has proven to be an overwhelming success. There were of course, a few problems during the first year of operation. These were limited mostly to some disciplinary problems, utilizing counseling procedures effectively, and coordinating the logistics of operating the long bus routes required to bring in students scattered throughout the district. The response of both parents and students has been very positive as evidenced by the long list of students waiting to get into Carver.[29]

After the successful effort to recruit students for the new Carver Middle School but before the program was implemented, the board of education was still faced with the decision of how to desegregate Washington High School. The Metro Learning Center plan had failed by

December 1972, and, thus, the school board was forced to come up with another senior high school desegregation plan that would be acceptable to both the courts and the community.[30]

In December 1972 the superintendent announced a timetable for developing new plans for senior high school desegregation. Four plans were developed by the staff. Discussion of these plans took place in a series of public meetings where the board of education actively sought public reaction to the plans and invited citizens to participate in formulating alternate plans. Those who came out to the meetings to discuss the plans were overwhelmingly in favor of a voluntary plan that would build on the base established at Burroughs and Carver. The school board was responsive to the concensus of interested Tulsans, and in February 1973 approved the development of a voluntary plan to desegregate Washington High School. They further specified that community agencies and patrons should be involved in formulating the plan and that top priority in terms of funds and staff should be given to this project. The school board also approved the development, by staff, of a "backup" plan of compulsory student assignment to be used in the event that the voluntary plan did not produce sufficient enrollment to desegregate Washington High School by September 1973.[31]

In late March 1973 the board of education approved a plan of voluntary desegregation at Washington High School commencing with the 1973-74 school year. The plan called for Washington High School to become a magnet school with a student enrollment of 1,200 students--600 black and 600 white. As a magnet school Washington incorporated a low student-teacher ratio of 17 to 1, a well-qualified volunteer faculty, and an innovative curriculum with the most extensive electives offered by any high school in the city. Teachers who were very popular with students were recruited from throughout the school system. The facilities were completely remodeled, including the addition of air conditioning.

Moreover, the new program at Washington High School did not differ from other high schools so much in basic design at it did in the variety of courses

offered and in the gathering of many of the best teachers in the district.[32]

> The principal attraction of Washington was the highly-qualified and carefully selected faculty, a curriculum expanded to meet the educational needs of the most selective student, and different approaches in the methodology of teaching. For example, art students have the advantage of instruction from an artist-in-residence and the opportunity to display their own work. Social studies curriculum ranges from ancient-medieval history to "learning the dynamics of a city through field work and instruction from community movers and shakers"....In addition to three years of Spanish and French and two years of German and Latin, foreign language students may study Russian and Chinese....Courses unique to Washington include archeology, mass media and TV and film production (taught by well-known personalities of local newspapers, radio, and television), urban development, and multi-ethnic studies.[33]

In the spring of 1973 the recruitment effort began. The proposed plan was well promoted by the media, civic and religious organizations, and most of all by concerned individuals. Small group presentations, held in private homes, were a vital part of the recruitment effort. Large rallies in which students and teachers told their reasons for going to Washington were used to boost the count of volunteers. By May 15 a sufficient number of volunteers had not yet been recruited, but because the goal now seemed within reach, the school board extended the deadline to later in the summer.

The principals of Washington and Hale High Schools agreed to trade assignments to facilitate desegregation efforts. H. J. Green, a white, and regarded as one of the most innovative principals in the Tulsa district, was named principal of Washington. The former principal of Washington, Granville Smith, was in turn named to replace Green at Hale High School, becoming the first black principal in a white school.[34] The

recruiting job was not easy but, during the month prior to the opening of school, the white enrollment inched up to more than 500--nearly 100 students less than hoped for, but enough to get the program on its feet. By the fall of 1973, approximately 1,100 students, half of them white, were enrolled at Washington. The remaining black students who could not be accommodated at Washington were assigned to East Central, Edison, Hale, Mason Memorial, and Rogers. This had the effect of desegregating white high schools to the extent necessary for the court's approval of the senior high school desegregation plan.[35]

That part of the school's history is now in the past. Recruitment is carried on by assembly presentations in junior high schools. It still involves much hard work, but now the school's reputation for academic excellence, coupled with a unique learning environment, makes it easier to attract volunteers. For example, 650 applications were received to fill 360 openings for the fall of 1976. Because of this fact, the screening committee is now able to be more selective in deciding who is admitted. Attendance records, test scores, grades, and disciplinary history are all considered by the screening committee at Washington High School. To be admitted, grade applicants must have at least a 2.0 grade point average, a 40th percentile rank in reading or a standardized test, and good attendance record. The standards for ninth-grade applicants are even higher.[36]

Washington High School has now completed its third year of operation as a voluntarily desegregated high school. A study of the Washington program was made by the Tulsa public schools' department of research, planning, and development during the spring of 1976. The study included onsite observations, interviewing, and questionnaires (see table 15).

To gain some standardized information about the intellectual and social environment at Washington High School, a number of questions taken from Phi Delta Kappa's school climate inventory were asked of the students and staff. Questions were grouped according to certain categories. The highest score obtainable was four, and one was the lowest. Any score over 2.5

was considered in the high range. Table 15 summarizes the results of this survey. Two important findings emerged from the survey. First, all the scores were above 2.5, indicating that every question--on the average--was answered favorably. Second, the staff tends to perceive the school climate much more favorably than do the students. The most revealing outcomes of the study include:

1. The student body is the single most effective recruiting agent. In a few years, if this trend continues, active recruitment by the administration could possibly be discontinued.

2. Students primarily choose to attend Washington because of a wide course selection. Initially, the curriculum attracts the students, but eventually the school environment and staff become slightly more important than curriculum in maintaining student interest.

3. Flexibility in scheduling and small class size are the most important factors in maintaining student interest.

4. Participating in human relations activities and being a part of an integrated educational program are considered as highly valuable experiences.

5. The most frequently mentioned suggestions for improvement were in the areas of academic standards, curriculum, discipline, and human relations.

6. The school climate survey revealed a number of large discrepancies between responses of staff and students. These differences warrant the attention of the administration.[37]

The final component of phase three of voluntary desegregation became complete after the successful opening of Washington High School on a voluntarily desegregated basis in September 1973. Now there was a

complete educational alternative, from kindergarten through the 12th grade, available to parents and students at Burroughs Little School, Carver Middle School, and Washington High School. These three schools have shown that voluntary desegregation can work. They have become models for the district as a whole. The magnet concept is being expanded to other high schools. A local Tulsa newspaper reported:

> The success of the magnet curriculum at Washington High School has spawned plans for expanded, specialized curriculum programs at two other schools here. Tulsa school officials plan to establish a creative arts center at the new Central High School...and a comprehensive business education program at Webster High School.[38]

The number of new and innovative programs has also increased at the elementary and junior high school levels. On April 24, 1975, District Judge Frederick Daugherty issued an order with regard to Emerson Elementary School. The order approved the school district's request to build a new elementary school based on an expansion of the existing Emerson campus. Student assignment changes were made by consolidating the enrollments of Emerson and Johnson Elementary Schools. The court stipulated that the new Emerson must maintain a black enrollment of not more than 50 percent. The school district, expanding on its previous successes at Burroughs Little School, Carver Middle School, and Washington High School, sought voluntary white student enrollment. The court had made it quite clear that, if the voluntary approach did not work, the district would have to take other action to maintain the prescribed racial enrollment in the new school.[39]

The new Emerson Elementary, which opened in September 1976, formed the final link in a complete K-12 alternative school program where students can experience individualized, continuous-progress learning in a racially desegregated environment. The total enrollment of 700, with a 50-50 black-white ratio, consists of approximately 500 neighborhood children and an additional 200 white student volunteers. Children in grades K-3 are located in a special area with ready

access to other activity areas. The curriculum emphasizes communication skills and mathematics taught by a team of teachers. Enrichment experiences include music, drama, and creative arts at this level. Children in grades three through six have three time blocks of 110 minutes each allotted to communication skills, math-science, physical education, and humanities. Additional instruction in music is available on the violin, guitar, and piano beginning at the third-grade level.

Although the main emphasis is on basic skills geared for individualized instruction, the curriculum stresses a humanities program. Children at Emerson have access to a piano laboratory, a potter's wheel, instruction in dance and drama, and a miniature television studio where they can produce their own shows. The curriculum features a creative learning center where children may engage in enrichment experiences in the arts, crafts, plant growing, and creative writing. This component of the curriculum is closely articulated with the exploratory curriculum at Carver Middle School so that Emerson students can continue their entire public school education through similar programs at Carver Middle School and Washington High School.[40]

The school system has begun to recognize that no one curriculum approach is best for every student. Now parents are able to send their children to the most appropriate school for their child's interest, instead of being locked into the neighborhood school concept. Out of the initial failure of the 1971 school desegregation plan, four dynamic programs of voluntary school desegregation have arisen: the Burrough's Little School, the New Emerson Elementary School, Carver Middle School, and Washington High School.

Problems remain: Tulsa has not become Utopia. The atmosphere in which school desegregation occurred in Tulsa has changed from one of confrontation to one of compromise. For example, school administrators noted in the course of Commission interviews that racial incidents in the schools and the number of tempestuous school board meetings have declined appreciably during the past 5 years.[41]

Table 15

Summary of Responses by Students and Staff, Washington High School - June 1976

	Students (N=259 Mean Score	Staff (N=50) Mean Score	Difference
I. General Climate Factors			
A. High Morale			
1. This school makes students excited about learning	2.76	3.20	.44*
2. Teachers feel pride in this school and its students	3.25	2.66	.41*
B. Cohesiveness			
3. There is a "we" spirit in this school	2.80	3.10	.30*
4. Administrators, teachers and students work together well toward making the school run effectively	3.02	3.57	.55*
C. Caring			
5. I think people in this school care about me as a person and are concerned about me more than just how well I perform my role at school	3.02	3.57	.55*
D. Continuous Academic & Social Growth			
6. Students feel that the school program is meaningful to their present and future needs	3.13	3.44	.31*
II. Program Determinants			
A. Rules Co-operatively Determined			
7. Discipline is fair and related to violations of agreed upon rules	2.65	3.32	.67*
8. Most students and staff members obey the school rules	2.78	3.18	.40*
B. Active Learning			
9. This school stimulates creative thought and expression	3.06	3.54	.48*
C. Individualized Performance Expectations			
10. Each student's special abilities are challenged	3.16	3.18	.02
D. Varied Learning Environments			
11. Many opportunities are provided for learning in small-group settings as well as in classroom-sized groups	3.14	3.46	.32*
E. Support and Structure Appropriate			
12. This school encourages students to develop self-discipline and initiative	3.07	3.12	.05

*Significant at .01 level

SOURCE: Department of Research, Planning and Development - Tulsa Public Schools, June 17, 1976.

It is important to differentiate between two basic kinds of attitudes in the Tulsa community when assessing the climate in which desegregation occurred. First, there appeared to be definite opposition on the part of Tulsa's citizens to federally-imposed solutions to Tulsa's school desegregation dilemma. Basically, this was evidenced by strong feelings against massive federally-imposed busing which Tulsans feared would cause deviations from the neighborhood school concept they cherished so much. A vigorous antibusing group emerged for a period seeking to prevent any deviation from the neighborhood school concept.[42] Secondly, much community support began to emerge for voluntary desegregation plans based on the programs being initiated at Burroughs Little School, Carver Middle School, Washington High School, and the new Emerson Elementary School. This phase of voluntary desegregation, long advocated by the Tulsa League of Women Voters and the Tulsa Community Relations Commission, was based on the concept of magnet schools with innovative curriculums and staffs of well-qualified teachers from the district. Although many Tulsans were skeptical at first about the feasibility and eventual success of voluntary desegregation based on a magnet school concept, community support began to grow as information was disseminated and recruitment efforts intensified.[43]

Interviews were conducted throughout the Tulsa community by the Commission staff and Advisory Committee members during February 2-5, 1976. Forty-eight persons, including school administrators, school board members, teachers, students, parents, business and civic leaders, clergymen, political officials, and media personnel were asked a number of specific questions with respect to their involvement in and perception of school desegregation in Tulsa. What follows is a synthesis of their mixed and sometimes conflicting feelings.

Out of the 48 people interviewed, a diversified group of 22 people representing various segments of Tulsa society were asked the following two questions:

On a continuum of 1 to 5 (1 favored and 5 opposed):

1. How did the white community, minority community, business leadership, political leadership, religious leadership, school board, and you, yourself, feel about desegregation before implementation of the plan?

The mean response for each group was as follows:

White community	3.86
Minority community	2.85
Business leadership	3.62
Political leadership	3.70
Religious leadership	2.76
School board	3.81
You, yourself	2.29

The mean for all seven groups combined was 3.27.**

2. How would you describe the current general attitude of the white community, minority community, business leadership, political leadership, religious leadership, school board, and you, yourself, towards desegregation?

The mean response for each group was as follows:

White community	2.90
Minority community	2.77
Business leadership	2.75
Political leadership	2.64
Religious leadership	2.23
School board	2.27
You, yourself	1.77

The mean for all seven groups combined was 2.48.

The results indicated in question 2 show a significant positive change in feelings towards desegregation after implementation, as opposed to feelings that existed prior to implementation as indicated in question 1. Thus, in general, the entire community now favored desegregation (with a combined mean of 2.48). Again, the respondents were the most favorable towards desegregation with a mean of 1.77.

There was a change in the attitude of the school board as perceived by the community from a mean of 3.81 in question 1 to a mean of 2.27 in question 2. The white community's position also changed substantially from a mean of 3.86 in question 1 to now favoring desegregation with a mean response of 2.90 in question 2.

There was a tendency on the part of the white community to maintain the status quo. The white community definitely wanted to maintain the neighborhood school concept. It was strongly opposed to court-ordered busing of whites into black schools, but less vehement about blacks being bused. One respondent indicated that the community was generally apathetic and that a vocal minority tended to influence the larger community. The aspects of the desegregation plan which most appealed to white parents included:

- Voluntary nature of plan;
- Limited busing of white children;
- Magnet school concept; and
- Minimal concentration of blacks in any one school.

There were some aspects of the plan which displeased white parents:

- Busing of white children to black schools that did not have the same facilities and educational offerings as their previous school;
- High amount of money spent on magnet schools;
- Loss of some of the best teachers from predominantly white schools through reassignment transfers;
- Fear of black students causing reduction in the quality of education; and
- Possibility of violence.

The black community's basic position towards the desegregation plan was one of cautious support. There was bitter resentment about the initial closing of Carver Junior High School and the changing of black traditions and black enrollment at Washington High School to accommodate the magnet school concept being implemented there. The black community felt that the burden of busing was placed on it when those black students who could not be accommodated at Carver Middle School or Washington High School were noncontiguously zoned to predominantly white schools. The aspects of the desegregation plan that most appealed to black parents included:

- Black children would be attending better schools;
- Schools in black neighborhoods would be upgraded;
- More learning materials conducive to a better education made available;
- Inclusion of black parents in initial planning stages;
- Location of magnet schools in the black community;
- Not all black schools closed;
- Absence of comprehensive forced busing; and
- Peacefulness of desegregation plan.

However, not all black parents would agree. There were definite aspects of the plan which displeased many black parents such as:

- Closing of some black schools;
- Burden of busing placed on black children;
- Reassignment transfers of the best black teachers to predominantly white schools;

- Negative attitudes of some white teachers involuntarily transferred to previously all-black schools;
- Busing of younger black children;
- Use of busing schedules requiring children to get up at least 1 hour before the usual time; and
- Having to share the power, leadership, and traditions of the black schools with whites.

Initially, the most important step taken by the black community to promote its position on the desegregation plan was to confront the board of education about the closing of Carver by boycotts, sit-ins, and public marches. Dialogue between black and white leadership began concurrently. Alternatives to just closing black schools were explored. Up to the point of the closing of Carver, there had been no meaningful involvement of community people in planning for desegregation. Community groups were then asked by the school board to submit alternative plans. The single most important action taken towards effective desegregation was the banding together of a number of people from both the white and black communities to support the volunteer plan. Recruitment efforts were made both individually and collectively by blacks and whites throughout the city.[45]

Responsibility for developing the desegregation plan belonged to the school board and the superintendent. Three members of the superintendent's administrative staff (the directors for higher education, junior high schools, and elementary schools) put the plan together. Other school administrative staff assisted in the dissemination of information by organizing seminars and workshops for both school and community personnel.[46]

School administrative officials interviewed by Commission staff said they were favorable towards desegregation, as evidenced by their involvement at several levels: (a) public statements of support to the media and to the community through public hearings, (b) inhouse efforts to train and prepare principals,

teachers, and other staff for desegregation, and (c) cooperation with community groups such as the Urban League, NAACP, and others to find an acceptable plan of desegregation. A number of school administrators actively recruited students and met with parents during the initial voluntary desegregation effort.[47]

The position of the Tulsa Board of Education on school desegregation changed from opposition to moderate support after successful implementation of the voluntary plan and indications of community support. There seems little doubt, however, that efforts towards meaningful desegregation would not have occurred without court intervention and pressure from the U.S. Department of Justice.

Teachers, in general, did not openly favor desegregation prior to its implementation. One teacher, interviewed by Commission staff, commented, "If teachers were transferred or subject to it, they were generally negative and questioned the handling of assignments."[48] There was only token faculty involvement in developing the final desegregation plan. Currently, teachers have a divergence of opinion concerning desegregation. "It depends in part with the teacher's involvement in the integration process," one teacher said.

The business community in Tulsa played a valuable role in bringing about school desegregation. For example, business coalition groups were organized, and advertisements were placed in the media supportive of the voluntary plan. Influential business leaders, who advocated the adoption and implementation of the voluntary plan, sought school board ratification. The Tulsa Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce also established a speakers' bureau in which business leaders spoke before community groups in favor of the voluntary plan. It is important to note, however, that the business community did not voice support for the 1971 desegregation plan which was not voluntary. In this context, the chamber of commerce took the lead for the business community and formed a task force to come up with an acceptable plan. The chamber came out in favor of the voluntary desegregation plan and made strong appeals to its membership for public support.[49]

The city commission and Mayor Robert La Fortune publicly supported the voluntary desegregation plan. However, many community respondents indicated in interviews that the political leaders as a whole took neutral stances and avoided the issues when possible.[50]

The Tulsa Metropolitan Ministry and Ministerial Alliance gave public support to voluntary desegregation and held a series of meetings within the organization's membership. Citizen coalition groups spoke before a number of congregations. However, the religious leadership in Tulsa did not appear to be a strong proponent of desegregation. Only a small group of ministers was actively involved in the effort to desegregate Tulsa's public schools.[51]

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. Tulsa Public Schools, In No Time At All: Annual Report of the Superintendent (1976), p. 26.

2. United States v. Board of Education, Independent School District No. 1, Tulsa County, Oklahoma, Order, June 25, 1971.

3. Id.

4. U.S. v. Tulsa Sch. Dist., Order, July 23, 1971, at 2 and 3.

5. U.S. v. Tulsa Sch. Dist., Memorandum Opinion, Aug. 17, 1971, at 5.

6. U.S. v. Tulsa Sch. Dist., Memorandum Opinion, Aug. 17, 1971, at 6; also, Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg, Board of Education, 402 U.S. 1, 91 S. Ct. 1267, 1283-1284 (1971).

7. U.S. v. Tulsa Sch. Dist., Memorandum Opinion, Aug. 17, 1971, at 8.

8. Id., at 9.

9. Tulsa Independent School District, Amended Plan of Desegregation (Mar. 1, 1971).

10. U.S. v. Tulsa Sch. Dist., Order, June 25, 1971.

11. Id., Attachment: The Aspects of the Approaches to the Desegregation of Four De Jure Schools.

12. U.S. v. Tulsa Sch. Dist., 459 F.2d 720, 724 (10th Cir. 1972).

13. School officials, staff interviews, Tulsa, Okla., February 1976 (hereafter cited as School Officials Interviews).

14. U.S. v. Tulsa Sch. Dist., Exhibit C: Proposed Metropolitan Learning Center, Order of July 23, 1971.

15. School Officials Interviews.

16. School counselors, Tulsa ISD, staff interviews, February 1976.

17. Dr. Paul McCloud, Tulsa ISD, staff interview, February 1976.

18. Dr. Paul McCloud, Neither Black Nor White: A Progress Report on Integration in the Tulsa Public Schools (Tulsa: Tulsa Public Schools, n.d.), p. 8.

19. School Officials Interviews.

20. Ibid.

21. Community leaders, staff interviews, Tulsa, Okla., February 1976 (hereafter cited as Community Leaders Interviews).

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. David M. Breed, "Regional Summary Report on Education Projects in Model Cities" (prepared for Tulsa Model Cities).

25. Dr. Earl Reeves, "Voluntary Integration in Tulsa: A Case Study" (unpublished paper, Tulsa, Okla., n.d.), pp. 8-10.

26. Ibid.

27. Tulsa Public Schools, "New Carver Middle School: Offers a Significant New Design for Individualized Learning for Pupils in Grades 6 Through 9" (brochure, n.d.).

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. School Officials Interviews.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Millard House, Director, Human Relations Department, Tulsa Public Schools, Voluntary Integration Plan (May 1974).

34. Reeves, p. 11.

35. Tulsa Public Schools, Annual Report of the Superintendent (1976), p. 26.

36. Bill Kuert, Washington High School: A Progress Report (Tulsa Public Schools, June 17, 1976), p. 1.

37. Ibid., p. 11.

38. "Special Curriculum Ok'd at 2 Schools," Tulsa World, June 23, 1974.

39. U.S. v. Tulsa Sch. Dist., Order Re Emerson Elementary School, Apr. 24, 1975.

40. Tulsa Public Schools, "New Emerson Will Complete Final Link in K-12 Alternative Education Program," Accent, vol. 3, no. 1 (November 1975).

41. School Officials Interviews.

42. Community Leaders Interviews.

43. Ibid.

44. Any response less than 3.0 (1.0 to 3.0) indicates a positive feeling about desegregation before implementation of the plan, whereas any response greater than 3.0 (3.0 to 5.0) indicates a negative feeling about desegregation before implementation of the plan. The mean is the sum of the scores or values of a group divided by the number of members in the group. In other words, the mean is an average of a number of values.

45. Community Leaders Interviews.

46. School Officials Interviews.

47. Ibid.

48. Teachers staff interviews, Tulsa, Okla., February 1976.

49. Business leaders, staff interviews, Tulsa, Okla., February 1976.

50. Community Leaders Interviews.

51. Religious leaders, staff interviews, Tulsa, Okla., February 1976.

VI. THE TASK AHEAD

During the first 2 years of desegregation, major improvements were undertaken by the district in areas of the curriculum. Initially, an innovative curriculum was offered primarily to attract students to the magnet schools. Parts of this innovative curriculum were expanded to other schools in the district. For example, a new curriculum focusing on individualized learning in open-class facilities was added to the Burroughs Little School, as well as Columbus, Sandburg, and Emerson Elementary Schools. A computer-assisted mathematics project, which permits students to advance at their own rates, was initiated at Anderson Junior and Washington Senior High Schools. This project also served Dunbar, Johnson, and Woods Elementary Schools. A mass media project was also introduced at Washington to encourage black students to consider careers in media. Course offerings at Washington High School included: sculpture and ceramics, environmental design, repertory theater, mass media, TV and film direction, business law, Bible as literature, search for identity (semantics course), speed reading, Chinese I and II, tailoring, building construction, elementary probability and statistics, stage show ensemble, music composition, electronics, earth science, archeology, black studies, multiethnic studies, and Indian history.[1]

Carver Middle School has an exciting and innovative curriculum. The courses have been well received, and there are many requests from parents and students of other schools to get these course offerings at their schools. There is now a program of multiethnic studies available in most schools, and there have been numerous other curriculum projects designed to aid the minority student at all grade levels. These projects involve all areas of curriculum with particular emphasis on reading and mathematics. The new curriculum offerings are being adopted by other

schools. Central High School, for example, is operating a pilot program in the creative arts. The Indian education program is one of several alternative education projects that has been implemented since desegregation. Courses in interracial relationships are now available. The payoff of such curriculum offerings is not only more diversified learning experiences, but also improved relations between white and minority students, as evidenced by fewer incidents of fighting and general unruliness in the classrooms, hallways, and playgrounds.[2]

There have been some improvements of the physical plant as a direct result of voluntary desegregation. Most importantly, the court has required that all school construction, i.e., new schools, additions to existing schools, and temporary classrooms, be placed at locations which maximize the inclusion of students of all races within the attendance zones.[3] A number of schools in the northern portion of the city, which is predominantly black, have been improved. Some examples of this are: Carver Middle School modernization at a cost of $601,875; Anderson Junior High modernization at a cost of $26,118; air-conditioning of Washington Senior High School at a cost of approximately $241,800; addition to Douglas Elementary at a cost of $155,219; and air-conditioning of Anderson Junior High School at an estimated cost of $70,005.[4] The locations of the new Central High School and Emerson Elementary Schools were also affected by the court's decision. For desegregation purposes, the district received $724,000 in Title VII monies from the Emergency School Aid Act,[5] and a Federal grant from ESEA-Title I[6] funds in the amount of $2,168,733. These funds were for supplemental instructional programs in 46 elementary and secondary target schools. Other Federal funds were received for library resources, handicapped pupils, equipment, special Indian programs, a Summer Headstart Program and others. These funds amounted to approximately $1 million.[7]

According to school officials, one of the major problems associated with desegregation in Tulsa was funding. Improved educational facilities, innovative curriculum, and busing created additional expenses which necessitated a search for revenues. The 1974 annual report of the superintendent reported that:

Table 16

Percent of Students Bused
Tulsa Independent School District

1969-70	8.9%	2nd year before desegregation
1970-71	9.8%	1st year before desegregation
1971-72	13.4%	during 1st year of desegregation
1972-73	17.1%	during 2nd year of desegregation
1973-74	20.4%	during 3rd year of desegregation
1974-75	21.6%	during 4th year of desegregation

Source: Tulsa Independent School District, Superintendent's Office, Feb. 2, 1976 (Note: Not all students are being bused for desegregation purposes).

Table 17

Percent of Budget Spent on Busing Tulsa Independent School District

1969-70	0.9%	2nd year before desegregation
1970-71	1.4%	1st year before desegregation
1971-72	1.4%	during 1st year of desegregation
1972-73	1.8%	during 2nd year of desegregation

SOURCE: Tulsa Independent School District No. 1, Superintendent's Office, Feb. 2, 1976.

TABLE 18

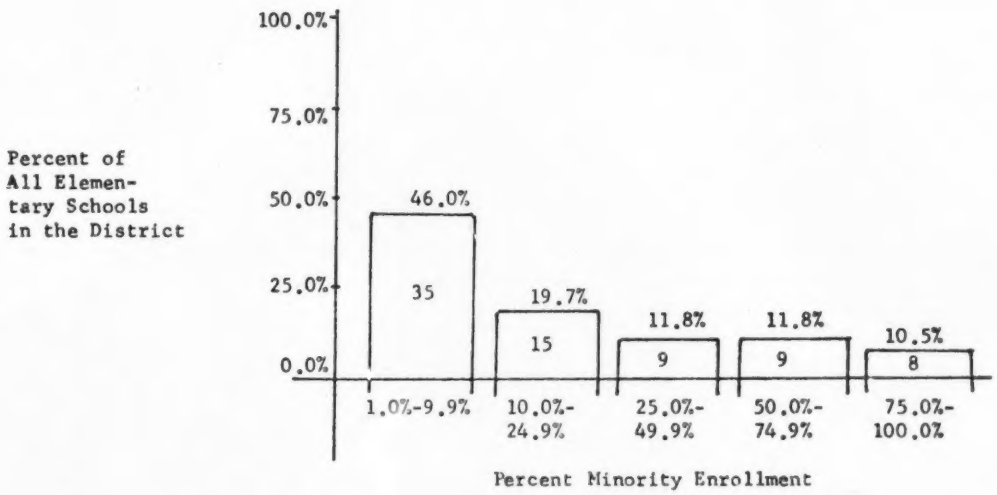
Extent of Minority Enrollment at the Elementary School Level
Tulsa Independent School District 1975-76

Percent of Minority Enrollment	1.0%-9.9%	10.0%-24.9%	25.0%-49.9%	50.0%-74.9%	75.0%-100%	Total
Number of Elementary Schools	35	15	9	9	8	76
Percent of Elementary Schools	46.0%	19.7%	11.8%	11.8%	10.5%	100.0%
	65.7%		23.6%		10.5%	

Source: Tulsa Public Schools, Department of Research, Planning and Development - Oct. 1, 1975

FIGURE 8

The Degree of Elementary School Desegregation
Tulsa Independent School District
1975-76 School Year



Source: Tulsa Public Schools, Department of Research, Planning and Development - Oct. 1, 1975

TABLE 19

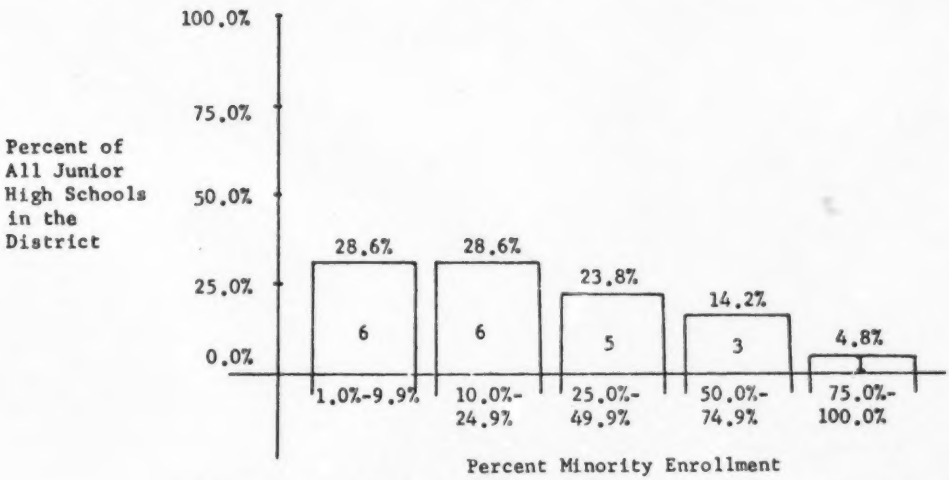
Extent of Minority Enrollment at the Junior High School Level
Tulsa Independent School District: 1975-76

Percent of Minority Enrollment	1.0%-9.9%	10.0%-24.9%	25.0%-49.9%	50.0%-74.9%	75.0%-100%	Total
Number of Junior High Schools	6	6	5	3	1	21
Percent of Junior High Schools	28.6%	28.6%	23.8%	14.2%	4.8%	100.0%
	57.2%		38.1%		4.8%	

Source: Tulsa Public Schools, Department of Research, Planning and Development - Oct. 1, 1975

FIGURE 9

The Degree of Junior High School Desegregation
Tulsa Independent School District
1975-76 School Year



Source: Tulsa Public Schools, Department of Research, Planning and Development - Oct. 1, 1975

TABLE 20

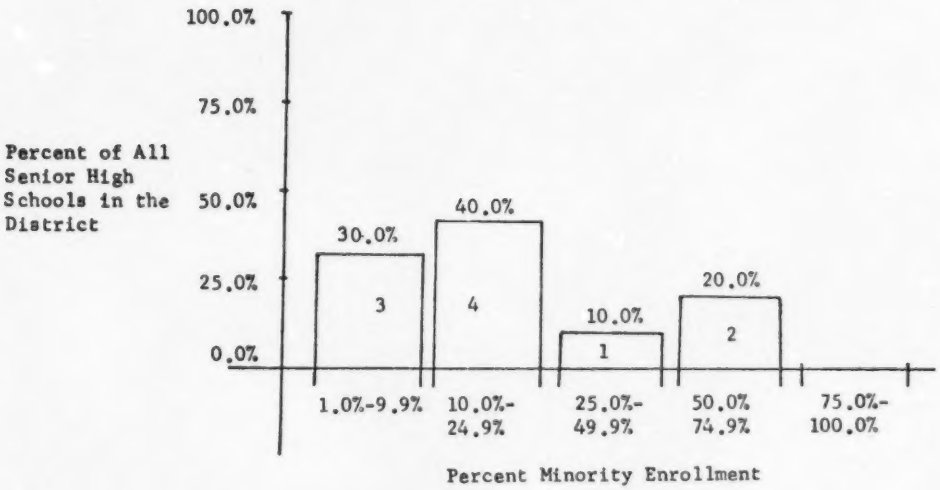
Extent of Minority Enrollment at the Senior High School Level
Tulsa Independent School District: 1975-76

Percent of Minority Enrollment	1.0%-9.9%	10.0%-24.9%	25.0%-49.9%	50.0%-74.9%	75.0%-100.0%	Total
Number of Senior High Schools	3	4	1	2	0	10
Percent of Senior High Schools	30.0%	40.0%	10.0%	20.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	70.0%		30.0%		0.0%	

Source: Tulsa Public Schools, Department of Research, Planning and Development - Oct. 1, 1975

FIGURE 10

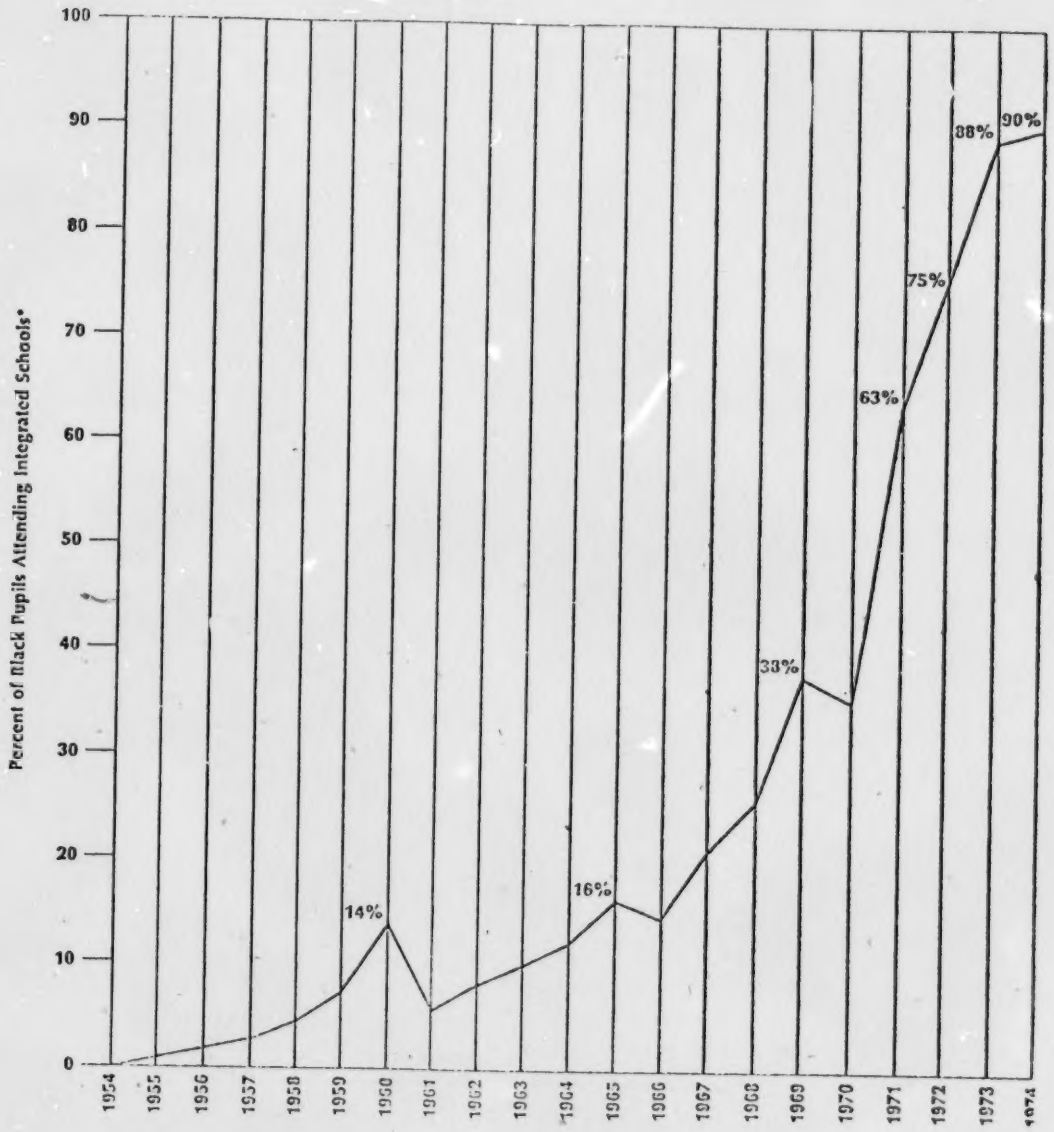
The Degree of Senior High School Desegregation
Tulsa Independent School District
1975-76 School Year



Source: Tulsa Public Schools, Department of Research, Planning and Development - Oct. 1, 1975

Figure 11

PROGRESS OF INTEGRATION IN THE TULSA PUBLIC SCHOOLS



Source: Neither Black Nor White Tulsa Public Schools, 1975, p. 9

*An integrated school is defined as one having not more than 90% black pupils.

> As a result of the court-ordered desegregation of the Tulsa Public Schools, and the resulting additional costs to the district to comply with the order, the successful negotiations of the Emergency School Aid Act-Title VII, in the amount of $724,000, provided the district the means to implement specific instructional programs which were designed to assist students, parents, and school personnel in the compliance of the order.[8]

Busing as a means for achieving desegregation in the district has not been used extensively. However, there has been a significant increase in the number of students bused to achieve desegregation since the 1971-72 school year. Table 16 shows the percentage of students bused for each of the 2 years immediately before and after implementation of the desegregation plan. There has been a significant increase since implementation of the plan, despite the substantial decrease in student enrollment during this period.[9]

Busing costs have climbed steadily. Nevertheless, the 12,000 students that were voluntarily bused in 1973 were less than half the 30,000 or more students estimated who would have been bused had the school board's contingency plan been implemented. During the 1973-74 school year, the school bus fleet was increased from 103 to 130.[10] Table 17 shows the percentage of the school district's budget spent on busing for 4 school years.

At the onset of the 1971-72 school year, both black and white parents were quite apprehensive about desegregation. They were suspicious and fearful of what awaited their children in the integrated school environment. Minority parents felt that most of the transportation burden was being borne by their children. White parents were worried about the quality of education their children would receive. Minority parents feared their children would encounter the hostile feelings of white parents. There was the option for a student whose race was in the majority of the school to which he or she was assigned to transfer to another school where his or her race was in the minority, but few utilized this alternative. Then,

too, there was the Metro Learning Center, which was voluntary in enrollment. The misgivings of the community about desegregation stifled recruitment efforts for this project.

Phase two of the plan, initiated in the fall of 1972, fared better. The elementary school desegregation plan had an extremely successful model in the Burroughs Little School. Although the pairing and clustering called for by the plan did not incorporate a magnet school concept like Burroughs, the plan was accepted by the community because of its equitable nature (it affected both black and white students) and because of the working example of desegregation in the Burroughs Little School.[11]

Phase three proved to be the most acclaimed aspect of the plan. The prospect of a voluntary desegregation program, as experienced in the reopening of Carver Middle School and Washington High School in the fall of 1973, gave cohesion to the efforts of the minority and white communities, and the media, business, religious, and political leadership. This cohesion was demonstrated as these groups banded together to recruit students for the voluntary magnet schools.[12]

The school board, superintendent, and other district administrators did not approve the voluntary desegregation plan until they considered it educationally sound and politically feasible. Nevertheless, this does not mean that they did not recognize weaknesses in the current plan. During an interview with Commission staff, Millard House, director of the human relations department, stated that, prior to implementation, the third phase of the desegregation plan "was not comprehensive enough to bring about integration."[13] Teachers interviewed by Commission staff indicated that the attitude of the instructional staff in the district toward the desegregation plan was negative.

Anxieties concerning the desegregation plan gradually subsided as each succeeding phase of the plan was implemented. As the third phase of the desegregation plan approached, more people began voicing their support of it. For the moment, at least, many Tulsans pushed aside past prejudices to make the

plan work. The perseverance of those who had strongly supported integration all along had not been in vain.

The current rate of student recruitment for the voluntary magnet school plan (phase three) suggests that this recruitment effort has been successful. No further special recruitment activity has been necessary to maintain the required, racially balanced voluntary student enrollment at Emerson, Carver, or Washington. The voluntary aspect of the Tulsa desegregation process has been well received by school administrators, community organizations, and the community as a whole. There may have been doubts at first in the minds of many as to its feasibility, but most people were willing to try it because of the very nature of the plan. Their willingness to risk the unknown and their eventual support were key elements for obtaining the degree of success school desegregation has thus far experienced in Tulsa.[14]

Any assessment of the current status of desegregation in the Tulsa school district would be incomplete and perhaps misleading if its shortcomings were not discussed and examined in some detail. Despite its success, the school district must still continue to grapple with the problems of school desegregation.

In reviewing the current plan one must ask whether the district has achieved substantial desegregation, both numerically and programmatically, throughout the system. On the face of it, it appears that the voluntary plan has been successful, but the voluntary plan affects only three schools: Emerson, Carver, and Washington.

In the final analysis, substantive desegregation can only be measured by the degree of total desegregation found throughout the system. Examination of the statistics found in tables 8 and 9, which show the racial and ethnic distribution of the student population in the district's elementary, junior, and senior high schools, leads to the one major conclusion that many of the schools in the district are still segregated. Table 18, which summarizes the data found in table 8, clearly shows that the largest numerical disparities relating to desegregation in the Tulsa

school district exist at the elementary level. Figure 8 graphically illustrates this disparity. Only about 32 percent of all the elementary schools in the district had a minority enrollment ranging from 10 to 50 percent. As indicated earlier, minorities constituted nearly 24 percent of the total student population at all grade levels in the district during the 1975-76 school year. In contrast, almost half of the elementary schools had less than 10 percent of their student body composed of minorities. At the same time, 17 elementary schools (about 22 percent of all elementary schools) had a minority enrollment of 50 percent or more.

Table 19 and figure 9 show the extent of minority enrollment at the junior high school level for the 1975-76 school year. Most of the junior high schools in the district were fairly well desegregated. For example, of the 21 junior high schools, 11 had a minority student population ranging from 10 to 50 percent. Only one junior high school had a minority enrollment in excess of 75 percent during the 1975-76 school year. However, six junior highs, or approximately one-fifth of all the junior high schools, had a minority enrollment of less than 10 percent.

At the high school level, desegregation in Tulsa has not occurred at the same pace as in the lower grades. Table 20 and figure 10 show the degree of minority enrollment at the senior high level for the 1975-76 school year. Even though the high schools have the advantage of larger enrollment areas to draw upon for their students, 70 percent of these schools had minority enrollments of less than 25 percent. Three high schools had less than 10 percent of their enrollment composed of minority students, while two had more than 50 percent minorities.

The school district has defined an "integrated school" as one having not more than 90 percent black enrollment.[15] Figure 11 illustrates the progress of integration from 1954 to 1974 using the district's definition. Using this as the basis for gauging the progress of integration in the school district, almost all black students attended "integrated schools" in 1974. This, however, does not present a true picture of school desegregation in Tulsa, but obscures two

important issues: (1) the degree of white isolation in the Tulsa ISD; and, (2) steps being taken to achieve comprehensive and substantive desegregation throughout the district to achieve equity and equal educational opportunity. It is one thing to establish segregation indices, and quite another to achieve effective desegregation throughout the district at all levels. After assessing the data, there appears to be considerable cause for alarm, especially when school officials comment, "There are no plans, at the present, for any further desegregation of Tulsa schools; we have met our obligations as prescribed by the courts."[16]

Resegregation of a number of schools previously integrated is another major problem facing the school administration. Noncontiguous zoning of school attendance areas, clustering and pairing of schools, and voluntary desegregation efforts have not been able to deal with the main cause of resegregation--white flight.[17] More than 17,000 white students left the district between 1965 and 1975. On the other hand, black enrollment has increased by nearly 1,700 over the same period (see table 6). For the most part, the school administration has done very little to stem this outmigration of white students into surrounding districts.[18] But this issue goes beyond the school district because it involves complex social and economic factors that are outside of its control. Yet, even when the district can have an impact, it has failed to act decisively. For example, the school administration has not taken positive action to develop a comprehensive plan for revitalizing and building new schools in predominantly black and low-income areas. Consequently, many of these areas continue to be locked into their depressed status.[19]

There were about 8,500 American Indians living in Tulsa as of 1970, constituting approximately 2.6 percent of the city's population. American Indian children comprised about 4.5 percent of the student population in the district during the 1975-76 school year. Field investigations conducted by Commission staff and Advisory Committee members failed to find any evidence that the school district actively sought participation from the Indian community in Tulsa when it was developing its desegregation plan. When the question was raised by Commission staff as to the

number and distribution of American Indian students within the school district, school officials responded by saying that American Indians are widely dispersed throughout the community and culturally are little different from the white majority population.[20] Because of this, the district contends, they are simply reported as whites, even by Indians themselves, making the counts of Indian students quite unreliable. As a result, they added, information on the number of Indians in the district is hard to obtain and, in fact, almost nonexistent.[21]

In the area of employment, available data show that the number and percentage of American Indians employed as teachers in the Tulsa school district has declined over the past 8 years. In 1968, for example, there were 86 American Indian teachers employed by the district. By 1976 their number decreased to 69. As of the 1975-76 school year, American Indians comprised only 2.2 percent of the faculty (see table 11). Furthermore, on the basis of information submitted by the district to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, there were only two American Indian principals and one assistant principal employed by the district during the 1975-76 school year.[22]

The Tulsa Independent School District has taken the first major step forward in desegregating its schools and has made progress in providing equal educational opportunity. The district has improved race relations in the schools and within the broader community. Where does it go from here? Simply stated: It is going to take a great deal of community support to finish the job of desegregating the public schools in Tulsa. This will require strong leadership on the part of the school board and the administration. And, if past experience is an accurate indicator, it may also require court intervention. However, as stated by the Tulsa Board of Education, "...to accomplish the integration of the Tulsa Public Schools is no longer an impossible dream but an attainable reality."[23]

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. Tulsa Public Schools Brochure, "Washington High School Is Communication and the Beginning of Understanding" (1974).

2. Ibid.

3. U.S. v. Tulsa Sch. Dist., Order, June 25, 1971, at 5.

4. Tulsa Public Schools, A Very Good Year: Annual Report of the Superintendent (1974), p. 32.

5. Pub. L. 92-318, 86 Stat. 354 (1972) as amended 20 U.S.C.A. §1603-1619 (Cum. Supp., 1975), amending 20 U.S.C.A. §1601-1619 (1974).

6. Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, Pub. L. 89-10, 79 Stat. 27 as amended (codified in scattered sections of 20 U.S.C.).

7. Tulsa Public Schools, A Different Drummer: Annual Report of the Superintendent (1973), pp. 33-4.

8. Ibid.

9. During the 1975-76 school year, 400 black students and no white students were bused on a compulsory basis to various high schools in the Tulsa school district. At the junior high school level 585 black and 273 white students were bused for desegregation. All 273 white students were assigned to Anderson Junior High School. At the elementary school level slightly more then 900 children were bused to paired elementary schools in the district. In addition, 905 white students were voluntarily bused to Washington High School (540) and to the Carver Middle School (365). Both of these facilities are magnet schools. These figures do not include those being transported under the Majority-to-Minority Plan. Tulsa Independent School District, Department of Planning and Research, Ethnic Distribution of Pupils (Oct. 1, 1976).

10. Data from the Tulsa Independent School District, Superintendent's Office, February 1976.

11. Community leaders and school officials, staff interviews, Tulsa, Okla., February 1976.

12. Ibid.

13. Millard House, director, human relations department, Tulsa ISD, staff interview, Feb. 2, 1976.

14. School officials, community leaders, staff interviews, Tulsa, Okla., February 1976.

15. Dr. Paul McCloud, Neither Black Nor White: A Progress Report on Integration in the Tulsa Public Schools (Tulsa: Tulsa Public Schools, n.d.), p. 9.

16. Dr. Paul McCloud and David L. Fist, attorney for the school district, staff interviews, Tulsa, Okla., Feb. 2, 1976.

17. School officials and community leaders, staff interviews, Tulsa, Okla., February 1976.

18. Ibid.

19. Community leaders, staff interview, Tulsa Okla., February 1976. In a letter of response to this report from Dr. Larry L. Zenke, superintendent, Tulsa Public School District, to J. Richard Avena, director, Southwestern Regional Office, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Jan. 19, 1977 (hereafter cited as Zenke Letter), Dr. Zenke stated:

> Your suggestion that new schools be constructed in the black and low-income areas, while perhaps needed, would not deter affluent white families from moving to still more affluent neighborhoods in the suburbs. While we are definitely concerned about this problem, we cannot deny any citizen the right to live where he chooses.

20. Dr. Paul McCloud, staff interview, Tulsa, Okla., February 1976.

21. Zenke Letter.

22. Tulsa Public Schools, Division for Personnel Services, Employee Current Status Report, Apr. 1, 1976.

23. McCloud, p. 8.

VII. FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Based upon its investigation, the Oklahoma Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reports the following findings and recommendations:

FINDING 1

Although the Tulsa Independent School District has made progress in bringing about school desegregation, much remains to be done. School enrollment statistics for the 1975-76 school year indicate that many schools in the district are still segregated. Out of 76 elementary schools, 35 had a minority enrollment of less than 10 percent. Approximately two-thirds of all elementary schools had a minority enrollment of less than 25 percent. Of 21 junior high schools, 12 had a minority enrollment of less than 25 percent. Furthermore, most of the high schools in the district had a minority enrollment of less than 25 percent. These figures indicate that serious disparities still exist within the district with respect to school desegregation.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1.1 The Oklahoma Advisory Committee recommends that the school board immediately establish a citizens' task force to include school officials and private citizens representing all segments of the population in Tulsa to prepare a comprehensive plan for implementing school desegregation throughout the district.

1.2 The Advisory Committee further recommends that such a plan include realistic goals and timetables and a careful assessment of the needs of the district with respect to school desegregation.

1.3 In addition, the Advisory Committee recommends that the superintendent of the Tulsa Independent School District immediately conduct a comprehensive evaluation of the present desegregation effort to determine its effect on the educational program, the student body, co-curricular activities, and the community as a whole. This process should precede further desegregation planning.

1.4 The Advisory Committee also recommends that subsequent plans developed by the district should incorporate permanent mechanisms that provide for periodic, formal evaluations of the progress and process of school desegregation.

The school board and its superintendent must recognize and aggressively execute their responsibilities for educating the community about the need for desegregation. They must also provide the necessary leadership to gather community support for this process.

The Advisory Committee believes that the impetus for desegregation must be provided by the district. The district is in an enviable position in that further desegregation planning has not been imposed by Federal or State courts. This means that the district can still institute desegregation on a voluntary basis with community participation. However, failure to act in a timely and decisive manner may result in additional legal or administrative initiatives which will require action by the district in a more compulsory manner.

FINDING 2

By choosing to define an integrated school as one having not more than 90 percent enrollment of a single race, the Tulsa Independent School District has not presented an accurate picture on the status of school desegregation in Tulsa.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

2.1 The Advisory Committee strongly recommends that the Tulsa Independent School District reformulate its definition on what constitutes a desegregated

school on the basis of current and projected enrollment statistics by race and ethnicity.

2.2 Instead of relying on the present 90 percent enrollment factor used for determining what is an integrated school, the Advisory Committee recommends that the district use a 75-25 percent ratio. On this basis, no school would be considered to be integrated unless it had at least 25 percent of its enrollment composed of minorities.

Presently almost one quarter of all students attending schools in the district are members of minority groups. The Advisory Committee believes that the 75-25 standard would be more realistic than the current standard being applied. If the school administration truly wants to bring about effective desegregation throughout the district at all levels, it must devise a better formula for gauging integration.

FINDING 3

White flight from the Tulsa Independent School District to surrounding suburban districts is a major problem. There was a decline of more than 17,000 white students attending schools in the district between 1965 and 1975. On the other hand, black enrollment increased by nearly 1,700 during the same time period. For the most part, neither the school board nor the school administrators have taken adequate steps to reverse this trend.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

3.1 The Advisory Committee recommends that the proposed advisory group work closely with the city planning department, the Indian Nations Council of Governments, the chamber of commerce, and other local organizations to help develop a plan of action to reverse current trends and stem the outmigration of white middle-income families from the central city.

3.2 The Advisory Committee also recommends that the district concentrate school improvement and construction activity in established neighborhoods

within the central city rather than in outlying areas.

The Advisory Committee feels that a decision to commit more resources to central city schools will help to reverse the outmigration of white, middle-income families. It will also serve to further desegregation and foster confidence by the community in the district's intent to provide excellent educational facilities to all students. However, the Advisory Committee believes that it is imperative that the school administration work with other agencies involved in planning the growth and redevelopment of the city.

In general, desegregation has had a positive effect on school facilities districtwide. The Federal court has required that all school construction and improvements be located in areas which maximize the inclusion of all racial groups in school attendance zones. One result of this court order is that schools in the predominantly black north side of the city have been improved and modernized. However, the Advisory Committee feels that the school administration must go beyond this mandate to deal with the larger problem of white flight. This will require a careful assessment of the problem and the will to make hard decisions.

FINDING 4

The current voluntary magnet school plan has been extremely successful. Not only have the magnet schools provided the basis for a truly integrated learning environment, but they have also had a positive effect on other schools in the district. For example, in the area of curriculum development, the magnet schools have instituted innovative concepts in the areas of programmed learning, the use of computers as a teaching tool, and new course offerings such as the mass media project instituted at Washington High School. However, the district administration has been slow in transferring these new concepts to other schools in the district.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

4.1 The Advisory Committee strongly recommends that the district make every effort to sustain successful new course innovations and processes at the magnet schools.

4.2 The Advisory Committee further recommends that the district continue to allow the magnet schools to explore new concepts in curriculum development, multicultural education, and the use of new teaching techniques.

4.3 The Advisory Committee also recommends that the school administration make every effort to extend these new developments to as many other schools as possible in a manner that will support further desegregation efforts and enhance the educational environment of all students in the district.

The Advisory Committee strongly believes that the magnet schools can provide significant payoffs not only in the area of curriculum but also in the area of multicultural relationships. They are unique in the sense that they provide a truly integrated setting where students of all races and ethnic backgrounds can interact and share ideas. These schools can also be thought of as test beds for new developments. However, for these schools to have a real impact on the district as a whole, the administration must make extraordinary efforts to institute their innovations to other schools.

At the same time, every effort must be made to allow these schools to continue to develop new concepts and learning environments. It is also important that school desegregation in Tulsa not be concentrated in these schools alone. As the report clearly points out, much remains to be done in the way of eliminating segregated schools. In this context, the school administration must encourage further desegregation while improving the educational environment of all students.

FINDING 5

Although the Tulsa Independent School District instituted an affirmative action program in August 1974, the school administration has failed to aggressively carry through the intent of the plan. Minorities and women are still underrepresented, expecially at the professional and administrative levels. While there has been an increase in the number of black teachers employed by the district from 1968 to 1975 they are still proportionally underrepresented when compared to the black student population. During the same period, there has been a significant decrease in the number of American Indians employed as teachers. Moreover, the Advisory Committee finds that American Indians are significantly underrepresented in all employment categories, i.e., faculty, professional, and administrative, within the district.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

5.1 The Oklahoma Advisory Committee recommends that the school board immediately instruct the superintendent to carry out aggressively the intent of the district's affirmative action plan.

5.2 The Advisory Committee also recommends that employment goals for the district be based on the composition of the student population which is now approximately 23 percent minority and 77 percent white.

5.3 The Advisory Committee additionally recommends that an aggressive recruitment program be instituted specifically to seek out minorities and women for professional and administrative positions throughout the district.

5.4 The Advisory Committee further recommends that the district immediately establish realistic goals for increasing the number of American Indian teachers, professionals, and administrators within the context of its affirmative action plan.

The Advisory Committee firmly believes that the district should seek to employ, as a realistic goal, a percentage of minority professionals in proportion to

the percentage of minority enrollment within the district. Moreover, internal procedures for monitoring and measuring progress toward goals should be established to assure compliance with the plan on a regular basis.

To make the plan a reality, the school administration must aggressively seek to remedy disparate staffing and recruitment patterns that are the present consequences of past discrimination and to prevent the occurrence of employment discrimination in the future. In this context, reasonable goals should be established. These goals should be based on such considerations as employee turnover rates, rate of new hires, and normal promotional opportunities. The setting of goals provides a valid benchmark against which progress can be measured and the need for further action determined.

FINDING 6

Staff investigations revealed that the burden of busing on a nonvoluntary basis to achieve desegregation in the Tulsa public schools falls disproportionately on the black community. For example, during the 1975-76 school year, 400 black students and no white students were being bused on a compulsory basis to various high schools in the district. At the junior high school level, 585 blacks and 273 white students were bused for desegregation.

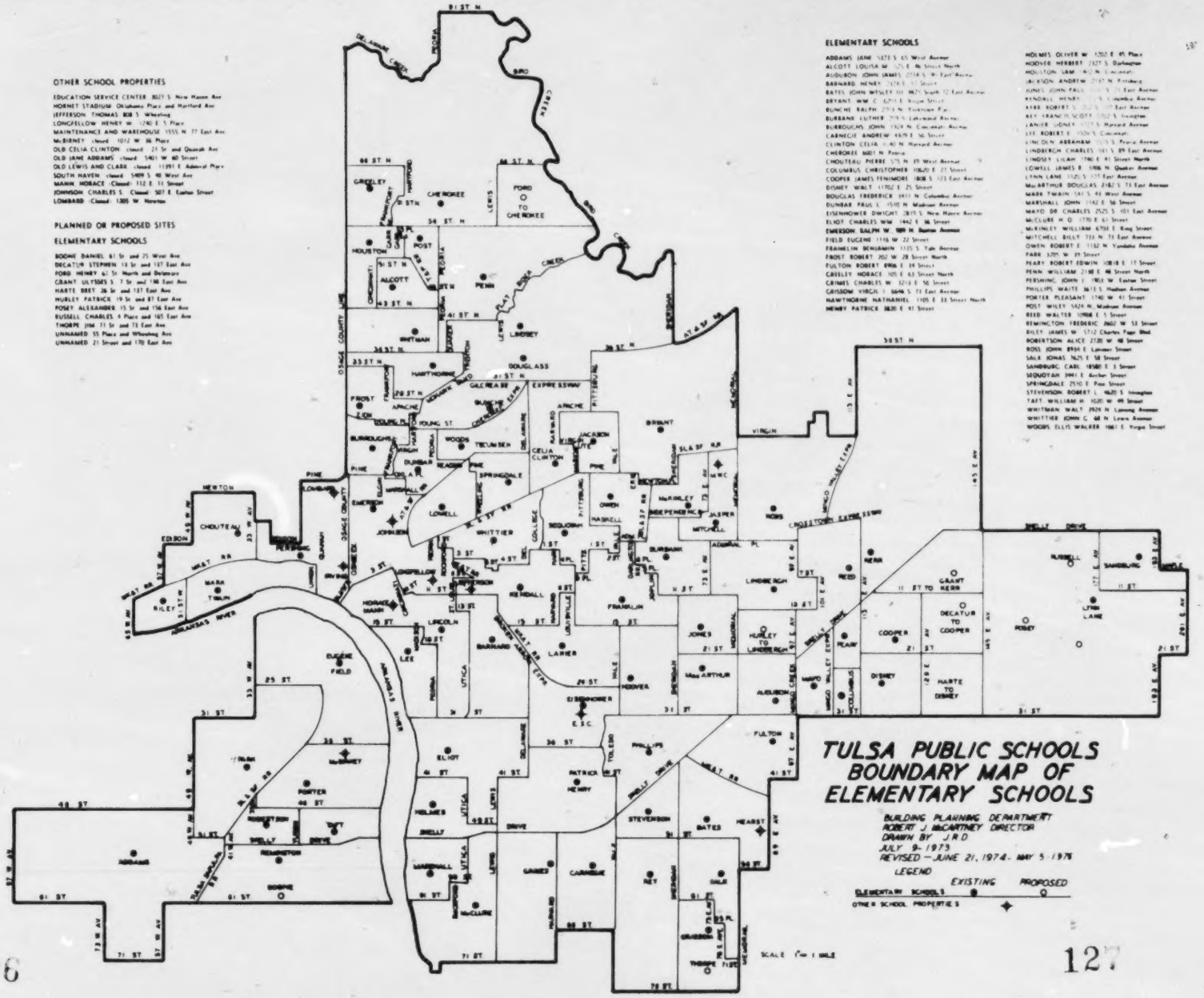
RECOMMENDATIONS:

6.1 The Advisory Committee recommends that the school district modify its existing desegregation policies to assure equitable participation of all racial/ethnic groups in those elements of the plan requiring compulsory transportation to achieve integration within the schools.

The Advisory Committee strongly feels that the burden of desegregation must be shared equally. In this sense, the number of children from each racial or ethnic group to be transported should be proportionate to that group's percentage of the school population.

APPENDIX

Boundary Maps of Elementary, Junior, and Senior High Schools--Tulsa Public Schools, 1976


OTHER SCHOOL PROPERTIES
EDUCATION SERVICE CENTER 3027 S New Haven Ave
HORNET STADIUM Oklahoma Place and Hartford Ave
JEFFERSON THOMAS 808 S Wheeling
LONGFELLOW HENRY W 1240 E 5 Place
MAINTENANCE AND WAREHOUSE 1555 N 77 East Ave
McBIRNEY closed 1012 W 36 Place
OLD CELIA CLINTON closed 21 St and Quanah Ave
OLD JANE ADDAMS closed 5401 W 60 Street
OLD LEWIS AND CLARK closed 11991 E Admiral Place
SOUTH HAVEN closed 5409 S 48 West Ave
MANN HORACE Closed 132 E 11 Street
JOHNSON CHARLES S. Closed 507 E Easton Street
LOMBARD Closed 1305 W Newton
PLANNED OR PROPOSED SITES
ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS
BOOKE DANIEL 61 St and 25 West Ave
DECATUR STEPHEN 13 St and 137 East Ave
FORD HENRY 61 St North and Delaware
GRANT ULYSSES S. 7 St and 148 East Ave
HARTE BRET 26 St and 137 East Ave
HURLEY PATRICK 19 St and 87 East Ave
POSEY ALEXANDER 15 St and 156 East Ave
RUSSELL CHARLES 4 Place and 165 East Ave
THORP 1956 71 St and 73 East Ave
UNNAMED 55 Place and Wheeling Ave
UNNAMED 21 Street and 170 East Ave
ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS
ADAMS JANE 5823 S 65 West Avenue
ALCOTT LOUISA M 125 E 46 Street North
AUDUBON JOHN JAMES 2714 S W Tulsa Avenue
BARNARD HENRY 2424 E 17 Street
BATES JOHN WESLEY III 3621 South 72 East Avenue
BRYANT WM C 6201 E Virgin Street
BUNCHE RALPH 2719 N Trenton Pl.
BURBANK LUTHER 2939 S Lakewood Avenue
BURROUGHS JOHN 1524 N Cincinnati Avenue
CARNEGIE ANDREW 4609 E 56 Street
CLINTON CELIA 1140 N Harvard Avenue
CHEROKEE 6821 N Peoria
CHOUTEAU PIERRE 575 N 49 West Avenue
COLUMBUS CHRISTOPHER 11620 E 27 Street
COOPER JAMES FENIMORE 1808 S 123 East Avenue
DISNEY WALT 11702 E 25 Street
DOUGLAS FREDERICK 3411 N Columbia Avenue
DUNBAR PAUL L 1510 N Madison Avenue
EISENHOWER DWIGHT 2815 S New Haven Avenue
ELIOT CHARLES WM 1442 E 36 Street
EMERSON RALPH W 1809 N Boston Avenue
FIELD EUGENE 1116 W 22 Street
FRANKLIN BENJAMIN 1335 S Yale Avenue
FROST ROBERT 302 W 28 Street North
FULTON ROBERT EMA E 39 Street
GREELEY HORACE 105 E 63 Street North
GRIMES CHARLES W 3218 E 56 Street
GRISSOM VIRGIL I 6646 S 73 East Avenue
HAWTHORNE NATHANIEL 1105 E 33 Street North
HENRY PATRICK 3830 E 41 Street
HOLMES OLIVER W 1302 E 91 Place
HOOVER HERBERT 2827 S Darlington
HOUSTON SAM 402 N Cincinnati
JACKSON ANDREW 2747 N Pittsburg
JONES JOHN PAUL 1202 S 137 East Avenue
KENDALL HENRY 5 Columbia Avenue
KERR ROBERT S 2424 S 177 East Avenue
KEY FRANCIS SCOTT 1502 S Lewis
LANIER SIDNEY 1315 S Harvard Avenue
LEE ROBERT E 1924 N Cincinnati
LINCOLN ABRAHAM 1111 S Peoria Avenue
LINDBERGH CHARLES 1401 S 89 East Avenue
LINDSEY LILAH 1760 E 41 Street North
LOWELL JAMES R 1906 N Quebec Avenue
LYON LANE 1520 S 177 East Avenue
MacARTHUR DOUGLAS 2182 S 73 East Avenue
MARK TWAIN 1441 S 49 West Avenue
MARSHALL JOHN 1162 E 56 Street
MAYO DR CHARLES 2525 S 101 East Avenue
McCLURE H O 1770 E 61 Street
McKINLEY WILLIAM 6758 E King Street
MITCHELL BILLY 733 N 76 East Avenue
OWEN ROBERT E 1162 N Yorktown Avenue
PARK 3209 W 49 Street
PEARY ROBERT EDWIN 1018 E 17 Street
PENN WILLIAM 2158 E 46 Street North
PERSHING JOHN J 1901 W Easton Street
PHILLIPS WAITE 3615 S Hudson Avenue
PORTER PLEASANT 1740 W 41 Street
POST WILEY 5424 N Madison Avenue
REED WALTER 10908 E 5 Street
REMINGTON FREDERIC 2662 W 53 Street
RILEY JAMES W 1712 Charles Page Blvd
ROBERTSON ALICE 2720 W 48 Street
ROSS JOHN 8964 E Latimer Street
SALK JONAS 7625 E 58 Street
SANDBURG CARL 10180 E 5 Street
SEQUOYAH 2441 E Archer Street
SPRINGDALE 2510 E Pine Street
STEVENSON ROBERT L 4620 S Irvington
TAFT WILLIAM H 1021 W 49 Street
WHITMAN WALT 3924 N Lansing Avenue
WHITTIER JOHN C 68 N Lewis Avenue
WOODS ELLIS WALKER 1061 E Virgin Street
TULSA PUBLIC SCHOOLS
BOUNDARY MAP OF
ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS
BUILDING PLANNING DEPARTMENT
ROBERT J McCARTNEY DIRECTOR
DRAWN BY JRD
JULY 9-1973
REVISED — JUNE 21, 1974 - MAY 5 1975
LEGEND
EXISTING
PROPOSED
ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS
OTHER SCHOOL PROPERTIES
SCALE

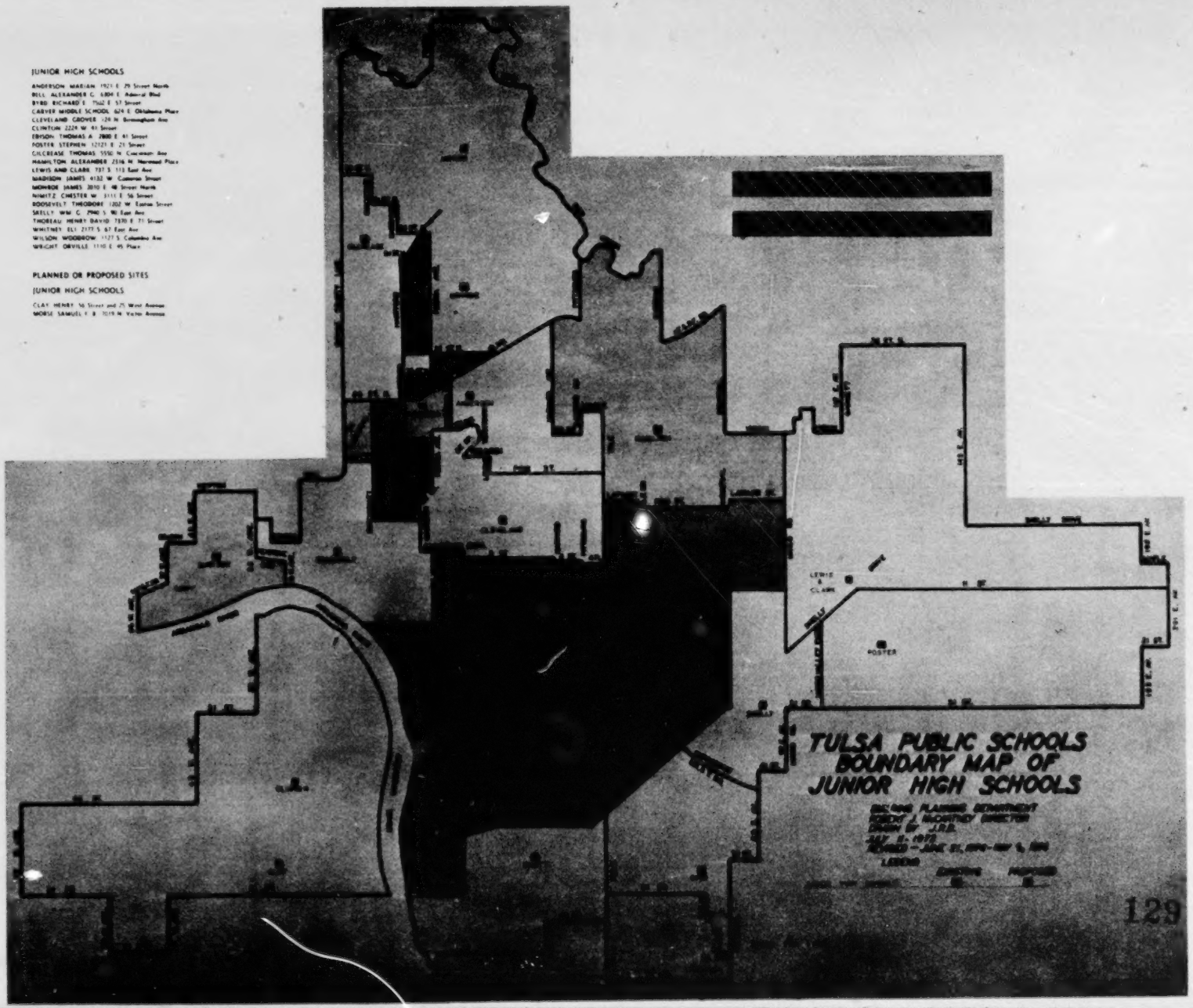
JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

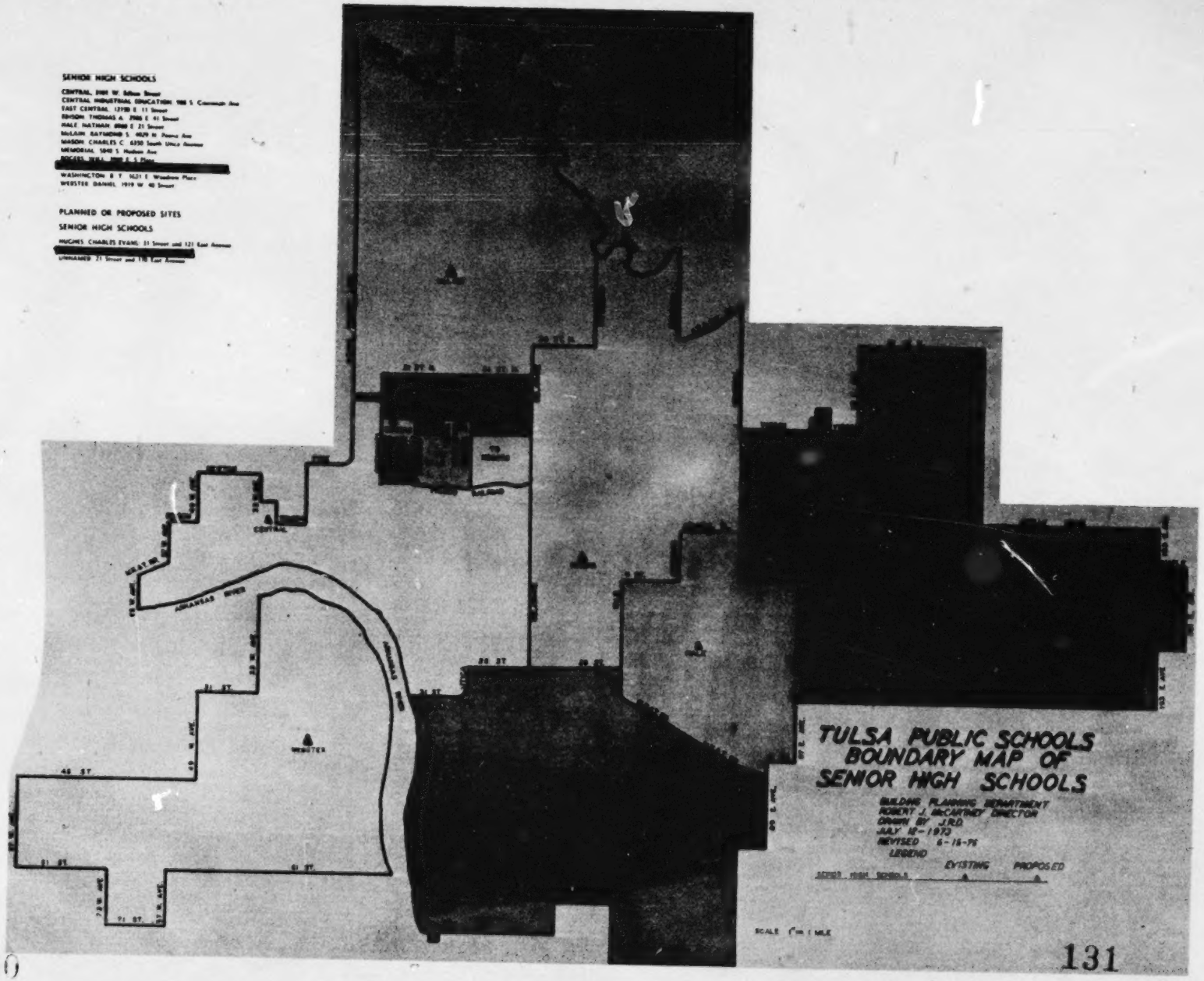
ANDERSON MARIAN 1921 E 29 Street North
BELL ALEXANDER G 6304 E Admiral Blvd
BYRD RICHARD E 7502 E 57 Street
CARVER MIDDLE SCHOOL 624 E Oklahoma Place
CLEVELAND GROVER 124 N Birmingham Ave
CLINTON 2224 W 41 Street
EDISON THOMAS A 2800 E 41 Street
FOSTER STEPHEN 12121 E 21 Street
GILCREASE THOMAS 5550 N Cincinnati Ave
HAMILTON ALEXANDER 2516 N Norwood Place
LEWIS AND CLARK 707 S 113 East Ave
MADISON JAMES 6132 W Cameron Street
MONROE JAMES 2010 E 48 Street North
NIMITZ CHESTER W 3111 E 56 Street
ROOSEVELT THEODORE 1202 W Easton Street
SKELLY WM G 2940 S 90 East Ave
THOREAU HENRY DAVID 7370 E 71 Street
WHITNEY ELI 2177 S 67 East Ave
WILSON WOODROW 1127 S Columbia Ave
WRIGHT ORVILLE 1340 E 45 Place

PLANNED OR PROPOSED SITES

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

CLAY HENRY 56 Street and 25 West Avenue
MORSE SAMUEL F 8 7019 N Victor Avenue





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